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MONUMENTA HISTORICA CELTICA

MONUMENTA HISTORICA CELTICA

NOTICES OF THE CELTS IN THE WRITINGS OF THE GREEK AND LATIN AUTHORS FROM THE TENTH CENTURY, B.C., TO THE FIFTH CENTURY, A.D., ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY, WITH TRANSLATIONS, COMMENTARY, INDICES, AND A GLOSSARY OF THE CELTIC NAMES AND WORDS OCCURRING IN THESE AUTHORS

BY

W. DINAN, M.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

LONDON

DAVID NUTT, 57 TO 59 LONG ACRE

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Don Ollaṁain Uasal Ársdaigeanteaċ

an t'aon ḟear do rigne cion míle
ċun mear agus misneaċ do ċur ar
luċt teangan na h-éireann
do ċosnaṁ agus do ċoiméad beo i n-ár measg,

.i. an doċtúir dubġlas de h-íde

uaċtarán Connarṫa na Gaeḋilge,
agus a gcuiṁne an ċarad
óirḋearc

Alfred Nutt

aig a raiḃ mear mór air
ṫeanga agus stáir na ngaoḋail
agus do ḋean a diċeall cum iad
do griosuġaḋ agus do ḟoillsiuġaḋ
tairgim agus toirḃeirim an leabrán so,
priom-ṫoraḋ mo ṙaoṫair
ar son na cúise céadna.

TO THE REVERED SCHOLAR

DOUGLAS HYDE

LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE GAELIC LEAGUE, ETC.

WHO HAS DONE VALIANT WORK

TO RAISE AND KEEP ALIVE THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF ERIN

AND

TO THE MEMORY OF

ALFRED NUTT

HIGHLY ESTEEMED BY IRISHMEN FOR HIS

APPRECIATION OF THEIR HISTORY AND LITERATURE

AND FOR HIS GENEROUS EFFORTS

TO MAKE THEM AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

WRITTEN IN THE SAME CAUSE.

PREFACE

This work aims at presenting in a convenient form all the references to the Celts that are to be found scattered through the works of the writers of Greece and Rome. These materials deal with a people whose homes spread over Europe, from the fresh fields of Ireland to the torrid plains of Asia Minor, and from the rich mountains of the Spanish peninsula to the uninviting depths of the Hercynian Forest. The earliest reference to this mighty race is found in the Homeric epic, and the latest reference given in these volumes is taken from a writer of the fifth century A.D. The value of this work then must lie altogether in the arrangement of its materials; for it is evident that what we learn from the Carthaginian explorer, Himilco, about the life of the tribes who worked the mines of Britain when Carthage was mistress of the Mediterranean and Rome did not exist, cannot be held to apply to the Celts of Galatia to whom Paul addressed his exhortations; nor can the social life of the Celts of Britain depicted by Poseidonius help us to form an idea of the conditions under which their Celtic contemporaries lived in the valleys of the Po and of the Danube. To safeguard the student from the egregious

errors which disfigure too many of the works of our Celtic scholars, considerable pains have been taken to arrange the materials of these volumes in chronological order. Each statement is, as far as it is possible to do so, traced back to its author. The custom among the classical writers of quoting without acknowledgement from the works of earlier authors has given modern scholars much trouble in identifying the sources of their information, especially when the works from which they quote are no longer extant. The account given by Pausanias (second century A.D.) of the invasion of Greece by the Celts is based on the work of a writer of the third century B.C., and probably of Hieronymus of Cardia. It therefore appears in these volumes under the date of its author, and not under that of the copyist to whom we owe its preservation.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the commentators who have laboured to elucidate these problems, to whose works reference is made as occasion demands. With very few exceptions the works that have come down to us from the writers of Greece and Rome owe their preservation to their literary style: they are chiefly polished compilations based on the commentaries of soldiers who described their fights in prose less stately no doubt than Livy's, but which, had fate preserved them for us, would have been of priceless worth to the historian. The picturesque and the heroic appeared to these ompilers most worthy of a place in their productions.

The story of the brave wife of the Celtic leader, Ortiagon, is first told by Polybius; Livy presents the story in his most finished style; Plutarch too cannot resist its charm. The myth of Juno's geese saving the capitol is repeated by a dozen writers. So, too, with the histories of the various campaigns, the later writers merely adopted the account given by their predecessors. When the original account is available it alone is quoted in these volumes.

The notes are as brief as it was possible to make them, and are chiefly concerned with such commentary as seems necessary for the proper understanding of the text. The reader is referred to the index at the end of the third volume, where he will find carefully noted the various passages in which the tribes and customs are mentioned in the *excerpta*. In the same volume will be found a concise etymological glossary of the Celtic names and terms occurring in the texts. The *Tabula Rerum Celticarum* may also, it is hoped, prove useful.

In the *Rerum gallicarum et francicarum scriptores* of D. Bouquet (1738), in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* of Petrie and Hardy (1848), and in the Γαλλικῶν συγγραφεῖς ἑλληνικοί of M. Edmond Cougny (1878-1892) attempts have been made to provide Celtic scholars with useful treasuries of the *origines* of Celtic history; but a comparison of the arrangement and the contents of these works with the present volumes will show that the author is under no obligations to these writers, whose works—excellent, no doubt, for their time—are now, owing to the great

strides made in classical research and criticism, quite out of date. To A. Holder's scholarly work, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, the author wishes to express his obligations, especially in the preparation of the etymological glossary at the end of Volume III. To this monumental work all interested in Celtic Philology are referred. To the researches of the late Mons. D'Arbois de Jubainville, and to those of MM. Georges Dottin, Ernault, Loth, S. Reinach, Alexandre Bertrand, Karl Müllenhoff, and their fellow workers, the author acknowledges his deep indebtedness. For his sympathetic encouragement and advice the author owes much to the late Mr. Alfred Nutt, whose untimely death deprives Celtic studies of an enthusiastic and generous friend. To his fellow-countryman, Mr. D. B. Hurley, who has read the greater part of the translations and has supplied some, the author is particularly indebted not only for the many corrections he has made, but also for his illuminating criticisms of the arrangement of these materials.

It can hardly be hoped that a work entailing so much reading and research would be free from errors or omissions. If any are detected the author will be much obliged to those who will kindly call his attention to them; and, should a second edition be called for, they and any useful suggestions that may be made will be gladly availed of and duly acknowledged.

LIAM Ó DOIGHNÉAIN.

Cnoc Aoibhinn,
An Coibh,
Láimh le Corcaigh,
i n-Eirinn.

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ERRATA ET ADDENDA

In several instances 'Galatae' has been misspelt 'Galati.'

Page 62, note 2. This note must be modified, as M. S. Reinach's theory is not accepted by archaeologists generally. Cf. M. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, and M. Ch. Renel, *Les Religions de la Gaule*, pp. 335–347.

Page 220, note 1. Add cf. Viollier, *Rev. Archéologique*, Jan.–Feb. 1911, pp. 130–134. M. Viollier accepts the theory of M. S. Reinach, but shows that it was the Celts of the third and second centuries B.C. who practised this rite, and not, as M. Reinach states, those of the fifth and following centuries.

MONUMENTA HISTORICA CELTICA

HOMER

The Homeric epic (circa B.C. 950–900) contains no direct mention of the Celts, but in the word *κασσίτερος* (= tin) we have undoubtedly a word of Celtic origin, which appears in the names of many tribes of the Gadhelic branch of the Celtic family: [1] e.g. Cassi-gnato-s, Cassi-mara, Bodio-casses, Vidu-casses, &c. In Strabo and in Diodorus Siculus we find a distinction, founded on a confused idea of the geography of North-west Europe, between *κασσιτέριδες* (the Tin Isles) and *Βρεττανική* (Britain), two names used by early Greek writers to designate Britain, from whose mines in Cornwall the peoples of the Mediterranean got their tin. To name a metal after the people in whose territory it was found was not unusual among the Greeks and Romans. Thus copper (*κύπρος*) came from Cyprus (*Κύπρος*), the mirrors made of polished bronze at Brundisium are

I. *τοῦ δ' ἤτοι δέκα οἶμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κυάνοιο,*
δώδεκα δὲ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι κασσιτέροιο.
(*Iliad*, xi. 24, 25.)

II. . . . *ἦν πέρι μὲν κύκλοι δέκα χάλκεοι ἦσαν,*
ἐν δέ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ ἦσαν ἐείκοσι κασσιτέροιο
λευκοί, ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν ἔην μέλανος κυάνοιο.
(*Iliad*, xi. 33–35.)

[1] S. Reinach: *Revue archéologique*, 3e série, t. xx. p. 262; *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus des séances*, 4e série, t. xx. (1892), p. 154. D'A. de Jubainville: *Cours de littérature Celtique*, xii. p. 5. Holder: *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, t. i. col. 824–834 (1893).

called in Pliny, *specula brundisina*; steel is in Greek χάλυψ because it was obtained from the Chalybes (Χάλυβες), a people in the Caucasian district. The word κασσίτερος came to the Greeks through the Phoenicians, who enjoyed a monopoly of the tin trade in the Mediterranean.

The XIth extract seems to be best explained with Merry and Riddell,[2] as a description of an iceberg. The Phoenician sailors who came to the Cassiterides for tin must have seen many icebergs, descriptions of which they would not fail to give to the Greeks who bought their cargoes. The XIIth extract shows a knowledge of the short summer nights of the northern latitudes, and this must have been obtained too from the Phoenicians.[3]

The evidence seems to justify the view that in the ninth century B.C. the Gadhelic branch of the Celtic family was established in the British Isles and engaged in the production of tin.

I. (Describing the shield of Agamemnon.) Now on it were ten courses (or circles) of black cyanus and twelve of gold and twenty of tin.

II. (Describing same.) Around it were ten courses of bronze and thereon set twenty white bosses of tin, and in the midst one of black cyanus.

[2] Riddell and Merry: *Odyssey of Homer*, note *ad hoc.*

[3] *Idem* note on X, 81–86. Cf. *Odyssey*, xv. 404; xii. 3–4; also Hesiod, *Theog.* 746, and Pytheas, p. 66, excerpt. XII *et seq.*

III. χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν ἀτειρέα κασσίτερόν τε
καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα καὶ ἄργυρον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
θῆκεν ἐν ἀκμοθέτῳ μέγαν ἄκμονα, γέντο δὲ χειρὶ
ῥαιστῆρα κρατερόν, ἑτέρηφι δὲ γέντο πυράγρην.
(*Iliad*, xviii. 474–477.)

IV. ἐν δ' ἐτίθει σταφυλῇσι μέγα βρίθουσαν ἀλωὴν
καλὴν χρυσείην· μέλανες δ' ἀνὰ βότρυες ἦσαν,
ἑστήκει δὲ κάμαξι διαμπερὲς ἀργυρέῃσιν.
ἀμφὶ δὲ κυανέην κάπετον, περὶ δ' ἕρκος ἔλασσεν
κασσιτέρου· μία δ' οἴη ἀταρπιτὸς ἦεν ἐπ' αὐτήν
τῇ νίσσοντο φορῆες, ὅτε τρυγόῳεν ἀλωήν.
(*Iliad*, xviii. 561–566.)

V. ἐν δ' ἀγέλην ποίησε βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων·
αἱ δὲ βόες χρυσοῖο τετεύχατο κασσιτέρου τε.
(*Iliad*, xviii. 573–574.)

VI. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε,
τεῦξ' ἄρα οἱ θώρηκα φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,
τεῦξε δέ οἱ κόρυθα βριαρήν, κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν,
καλὴν δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ δὲ χρύσεον λόφον ἧκεν,
τεῦξε δέ οἱ κνημῖδας ἑανοῦ κασσιτέροιο.
(*Iliad*, xviii. 608–612.)

VII. [ἀλλὰ δύω μὲν ἔλασσε διὰ πτύχας, αἱ δ' ἄρ' ἔτι τρεῖς
ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ πέντε πτύχας ἤλασε κυλλοποδίων,
τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἔνδοθι κασσιτέροιο,
τὴν δὲ μίαν χρυσέην, τῇ ῥ' ἔσχετο μείλινον ἔγχος.] [1]
(*Iliad*, xx. 269–272.)

VIII. ἦ ῥα καὶ ὀξὺν ἄκοντα βαρείης χειρὸς ἀφῆκεν,
καί ῥ' ἔβαλε κνήμην ὑπὸ γούνατος οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτεν·

[1] The lines are undoubtedly spurious, as noted by Aristarchos (quoted in Aristonikes). The shields were probably of hides on metal and not, as the interpolator imagines, all of metal. *Vide* note in Leaf: *Iliad, ad hoc.*

III. (Vulcan is forging a shield for Achilles.) Into the fire he threw enduring bronze and tin and precious gold and silver, and next he set a great anvil on an anvil-seat and took in his hand a sturdy hammer and in the other he grasped the tongs.

IV. (Describing the wonderful carving and inlay of same.) Also he set therein a vineyard teeming plenteously with clusters, wrought fair in gold; black were the grapes, but the vines hung throughout on silver poles. And around it he ran a ditch of cyanus and round that a fence of tin, and one straight path led to it whereby the vintagers might go when they should gather the vintage.

V. (Describing same.) Also he wrought therein a herd of kine with straight horns, and the kine were fashioned of gold and tin.

VI. Now when he had wrought the shield great and strong, then wrought he a corslet for him brighter than a flame of fire, and he wrought him too a massive helmet to fit his brows, handsomely graven, and thereon he set a crest of gold, and he wrought him greaves of pliant tin.

VII. (Description of combat between Achilles and Aeneas.) Yet through two folds he drove it, but three remained, for the lame god had welded five, two of bronze and two inside of tin and one of gold; therein was held the ashen spear.[1]

VIII. (Description of Agenor's attack on Achilles.) He said, and hurled his sharp spear with weighty hand and struck him on the leg beneath the knee. He

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κνημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέροιο
σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· πάλιν δ' ἀπὸ χαλκὸς ὄρουσεν
βλημένου, οὐδ' ἐπέρησε, θεοῦ δ' ἠρύκακε δῶρα.
(*Iliad*, xxi. 590–594.)

IX. αἰεὶ δ' ἡνίοχον κονίης ῥαθάμιγγες ἔβαλλον,
ἅρματα δὲ χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα κασσιτέρῳ τε
ἵπποις ὠκυπόδεσσιν ἐπέτρεχον· οὐδέ τι πολλὴ
γίγνετ' ἐπισσώτρων ἁρματροχιὴ κατόπισθεν
ἐν λεπτῇ κονίῃ· τὼ δὲ σπεύδοντε πετέσθην.
(*Iliad*, xxiii. 502–506.)

X. δώσω οἱ θώρηκα, τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων,
χάλκεον, ᾧ πέρι χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο
ἀμφιδεδίνηται· πολέος δέ οἱ ἄξιον ἔσται.
(*Iliad*, xxiii. 560–563.)

XI. Αἰολίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ'· ἔνθα δ' ἔναιεν
Αἴολος Ἱπποτάδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ· πᾶσαν δέ τέ μιν πέρι τεῖχος
χάλκεον ἄρρηκτον, λισσὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη.
(*Odyssey*, x. 1–4.)

XII. Ἑξῆμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ·
ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἱκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον,
Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, ὅθι ποιμένα ποιμὴν
ἠπύει εἰσελάων, ὁ δὲ τ' ἐξελάων ὑπακούει.
ἔνθα κ' ἄϋπνος ἀνὴρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρατο μισθούς,
τὸν μὲν βουκολέων, τὸν δ' ἄργυφα μῆλα νομεύων·
ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κέλευθοι.
(*Odyssey*, x. 80–86.)

did not miss his mark, and the greave of new-wrought tin rang loud, but the brazen spear bounded back after striking and penetrated not, for the god's gift drove it back.

IX. And sprays of dust ever smote the charioteer, and his chariot overlaid with gold and tin ran behind his fleet-footed steeds, and small trace was there of the wheel-tires behind in the fine dust, as they sped on.

X. I will give him the breastplate that I took from Asteropaios, of bronze, whereon a casting of bright tin was overlaid, and it will be to him of great worth.

XI. Then we came to the isle, Aeolia, where dwelt Aeolus, son of Hippotas, dear to the immortal gods, in a floating island, and all about it is a wall of bronze unbroken, and the cliff runs up sheer from the sea.

XII. So for the space of six days we sailed night and day continually, and on the seventh we came to the steep stronghold of Lamos, Telepylos of the Laestrygons, where herdsman hails herdsman as he drives in his flock, and his fellow-herdsman who drives forth answers the call. There might a sleepless man have earned a double wage, the one as neat-herd, the other shepherding white flocks: so near are the outgoings of the night and of the day.

HECATAEUS OF MILETUS

In the *Iliad* [1] we find mention of Miletus, a Greek city situated near the mouth of the river Maeander. Its favourable position enabled it to secure a monopoly of the trade of the Black Sea, while the energy and enterprise of its citizens made it in the sixth century B.C. the most important of the Greek cities. By B.C. 700 it had founded more than sixty cities, chiefly on the Hellespont, including Abydos, Cyzicus, Sinope, Dioscurias, Panticapaeum and Olbia. It entered into commercial relations with the Phoenicians and became distinguished as a seat of literature, history,

I. St. B. Ναρβών,[2] ἐμπόριον καὶ πόλις Κελτική.
(*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. i. p. 2, Frag. 19.)

II. St. B. Νύραξ,[3] πόλις Κελτική.
(*Idem*, Frag. 21.)

III. St. B. Μασσαλία,[4] πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς, κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ἄποικος Φωκαέων.
(*Idem*, Frag. 22.)

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 484–487, and *Iliad*, ii. 867–868.
[2] Narbon, now Narbonne.
[3] Nyrax is probably modern Norique, but this is not certain.
[4] Massalia, now Marseilles.

philosophy, and geographical enterprise. Towards the end of the seventh century B.C. Anaximander of Miletus designed the first map of the world. Hecataeus, born at Miletus, circa B.C. 540, continued the researches of Anaximander and travelled extensively in Egypt, Asia and Europe. He wrote an account of his observations, largely used by Herodotus in his history, and of which 331 fragments have come down to us. It is to these fragments we owe the first mention of the Celts. The fragments are collected in the scholarly work of C. and T. Müller: *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols., published by Didot, Paris.

I. Narbon,[2] a market and city of the Celts.

II. Nyrax,[3] a Celtic city.

III. Massalia,[4] a city of the Ligurians, near the Celts, a colony of the Phocaeans.

HIMILCO

Himilco, a Carthaginian explorer, made a voyage round the west coast of Europe and explored as far as Britain and Ireland about B.C. 500. An account of his expedition, giving details of the coast and the

tribes who dwelt on it, written probably by himself, was known to the ancients, but is now lost. Eratosthenes (circa B.C. 275–195), librarian to Ptolemy III, King of Egypt, translated this account into Greek, but this work too is lost. Rufus Festus Avienus, who was proconsul for Africa A.D. 366, and an elegant writer of Latin, had a copy of the Greek version of Himilco's work, and amused himself by rendering it into Latin verse. Of this Latin translation, written 850 years after the events it narrates, we have a fragment of some 4015 lines. These have been carefully published by Alfred Holder, under the title of *Rufi Festi Avieni Carmina.*

It should be noted that at the time of Himilco's expedition the Celts had not conquered Spain. Polybius [1] and, following him, Strabo [2] blame Eratosthenes for stating that the Celts held all Spain except Cadiz, which belonged to the Carthaginians, and then omitting the Celts from his list of peoples occupying the west coast of Spain. There is, however, no contradiction here. Eratosthenes, writing circa B.C. 240, correctly states that the Celts held dominion over the greater portion of the Iberian peninsula, but when copying the account of the voyage of Himilco, which relates to B.C. 500, he does not find the Celts among the tribes occupying Iberia. We must conclude they had not yet conquered the peninsula. We know, however, from Herodotus [3] that about fifty years after

[1] Polybius, quoted below, excerpt. LXXX.
[2] Strabo on Pytheas, p. 80, excerpt. XXXI.
[3] Herodotus, quoted below, page 28.

HIMILCO'S VOYAGE TO WEST COAST OF EUROPE
CIRCA B.C. 500

the expedition of Himilco the Celts had conquered the Iberian peninsula. The conquest therefore took place in the fifth century B.C. We shall see they were subsequently conquered by the Carthaginians.[1]

Literature.—An exhaustive list of the literature dealing with this voyage will be found in the edition of A. Holder, pp. xxxi-lxv, to which should be added Mr. Elton's *Origins of English History*, pp. 20 *et seq.*

[1] For the conquest of the Celts of Iberia by the Carthaginians see Index *sub* Carthaginians.

tellus Europa columnis
Proxuma magnanimos alit aequo caespite Hiberos.
Hi super Oceani borealis frigida tangunt
Aequora, et excursu diffusi latius agri
Arua tenent, duris nimium uicina Britannis ;
Flauaque caesariem Germania porrigit ora<m>,
Dumosa Hercyniae peragrans confinia siluae.
Inde Pyrenaei turgescunt dorsa niualis,
Gallorumque truces populi per inhospita terrae
Vitam agitant : tum caeruleum Padus euomit antro
Flumen, et extento patulos premit aequore campos.
Hic prius Heridani propter nemorosa fluenta
Fleuerunt liquidae lapsum Phaet<h>onta sorores,
Mutataeque manus planxerunt pectora ramis.

(Holder's edition, pp. 100–101, lines 414–427.)

Hic Hispanus ager, tellus ibi diues Hiberum :
Tartesusque super sustollitur : indeque Cemsi
Gens agit, in rupis uestigia Pyrenaeae
Protendens populos :

(*Idem*, p. 103, lines 479–482.)

By the Pillars of Hercules the land of Europe nourishes

General view of Western Europe.

On its level sward the generous Iberian race.
These people touch the Northern Ocean's frozen waters
And scattered far and wide occupy the cultivated
Land, near,—too near,—to the hardy folk of Britain.
Germania with her race of flaxen hair stretches out her borders
Along the woody limits of the Hercynian Forest.
From these same Pillars the snow-clad Pyrenees rear
Their swelling backs, and here the fiery Gaul toils through life
On a barren soil. Next the Po vomits forth its sky-blue wave from its cavern,
And with its mighty volume weighs down the spreading plains.
Here in olden times, along the wooded waters of Heridanus,
The tearful sisters wept the fallen Phaethon,
And with their hands, now changed to branches, beat their breasts.

Here lies the land of Spain, and, beyond, the rich Iberian soil:

Spain in B.C. 500.

Yonder Tartessus towers aloft: and then the Cempses toil, dispersing their people to the foot of the rocky Pyrenees.

Pars porro eoa continet Tartesios
Et Cilbicenos. Cartare post insula est,
Eamque pridem, influx<a> e<t> est satis fides,
Tenuere Cempsi.

(*Idem*, p. 153, lines 254–257.)

Cempsi atque Saefes arduos collis habent
Ophiuss*ae* in agro : propter hos pernix L*igus*
Draganumque proles sub niuoso maxime
Septentrione conlocauerant larem.
Poetanion autem est insula ad S*ae*fum[m] lat*us*,
Patulusque portus : inde Cempsis adiacent
Populi Cynetum : <tum> *C*yneticum iugum,
Qua s*i*deralis lucis inclinatio est,
Alte *t*umescens ditis Europ*ae* extimum,
In beluosi uergit Oceani [si] salum.[1]
Ana a*mn*is illic per Cynetas effluit,
Sulcatque glaebam. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Genti et Cynetum hic terminus. Tartes<i>us
Ager his adh*ae*ret, adluitque caespitem
Tartesus amnis.

(*Idem*, pp. 151–152, lines 195–225.)

Propter Atlantei tergum salis Aethiopum gens
Hesperides habitant; dorsum tumet hic Erythia<e>,

[1] References to the dangers from waves and monster fish are frequent in the work of Himilco, and no doubt were intended to deter Greek explorers. Cf. Hieronymus of Cardia, p. 93, excerpt. I.

And further on the eastern part holds the Tartesii
And Cilbiceni. The isle of Cartare lies beyond,
And this in former days, . . . as is well known,
The Cempses held.
The Cempses and the Saefes dwell on the towering heights
That deck Ophiussa's land : and next to them the fleet Ligurians,
And the offspring of the Draganes, towards the snowy north,
Have placed their seats.
By the side of the Saefes lies the isle of Poetanion,
With its broad harbour : then bordering on the Cempses
Come the tribes of the Cynetes : and then, where the starlit night
Marks the lofty limits of fertile Europe,
The Cynetic mountain range extends towards
The shores of the monster-tenanted ocean.[1]
There flows the river Guadiana through the Cynetes
Furrowing their land . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Here ends the country of the Cynetes. The Tartesian
Land adjoins, whose sward is watered by the
River Tartesus.
Behind the Atlantic main an Aethiopian race, to wit, North Coast of Spain.
The Hesperides, dwell ; and here swells forth the broad back of Erythia,

Hicque Sacri, sic terga uocat gens ardua, montis:
Nam portenta iugum tellus trahit : hoc caput amplae
Proditur Europ*ae* : gen*e*trix haec ora metalli,
Liuentis stagni uenas uomit : acer Hiberus
H*i*c freta ueloci percurrit saepe phaselo.
Eminus hic aliae gelidi prope flabra aquilonis
Exuperant undas et uasta cacumina tollunt.
Hae numero geminae, pingu*e*s sola, caespitis amplae,
Conditur occidui qua Rhen*us* gurgitis unda,
Dira Britannorum sustentant agmina terris.
Hi[n]c spumosus item ponti liquor explicat aestum,
Et breuis e pelago uertex subit : hic [1] chorus ingens
F*e*minei coetus pulchri colit orgia Bacchi :
Producit noctem ludus sacer : aera pulsant.
Vocibus, et crebris late sola calcibus urgent.

(*Idem*, pp. 114–115, lines 738–754.)

And here again, that of the Sacred Mountain,
for so the people name its slopes :
The broad land draws out its mountain chain,
which rears its lofty head o'er
Wide-extending Europe : the coast produces
metal
Giving forth veins of white-blue tin. The fleet
Iberian
Of these parts oft speeds o'er the shallows in
his swift bark.
And other coasts some distance off braving the
north-wind's frosty blast
Tower o'er the waters with their mighty cliffs.
Twin cliffs are they, with their rich soil clothed
in spreading sward, stretching to
Where in the turbid western sea the Rhine is
hid, and where
Upon their bosoms dread bands of Britons live.
From here the Ocean's foaming wave spreads out
its tide,
And fills a gulf close by the main. Here a
large chorus [1]
Of female bands practise the orgies of seductive
Bacchus :
Their sacred rites lengthen the night, and
make the air vibrate
With their cries, while far and wide they stamp
the earth in rapid dance.

West and North Coasts of France.

[1] This is added by Avienus ; cf. p. 62, note 2.

Hic Gadir [1] urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius :
Hic sunt colu*m*nae pertinacis Herculis,
Abila atque Calp*e*: (<haec> l*ae*ua dicti caespitis,
Liby*ae* propinquast A*bil*a) duro perstrepunt
Sept[r]ent<r>ione, sed loco certae tenent.
Et prominentis hic iugi surgit caput,
(Oestrymnin istud dixit aeuum antiquius) [2]
Molesque celsa saxei fastigii
Tota in tepentem maxime uergit notum.
Sub huius autem prominentis uertice
Sinus dehiscit incolis Oestrymnicus
In quo insulae sese exerunt Oestrymnides,
Laxe iacentes, et metallo diuites
Stanni atque plumbi : multa uis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax solertia,
Negot*i*andi cura iugis omnibus :
Not*i*sque cumbis turbidum late fretum,
Et beluosi gurgitem Oceani secant,
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere,
[F]acere<ue> *nor**unt*; non abiete, ut usus est,

[1] Cadiz.

[2] Holder and other commentators regard this as a gloss. Himilco seems to mean that in Spain a mountain of considerable elevation runs south. He probably is describing the north-west of the peninsula, and was under the impression that the British isles were just north of Spain.

Here stands the city, Gadir,[1] once named Tartessus :
Here too are the Pillars of much enduring Hercules,
Abila and Calpe, (that to the left of the land we speak of,
And nearest Libya is Abila). Swept by the cold north blast
Unmoved they stand.
Here towers aloft the peak of the higher chain,
(Known as Oestrymnin by an earlier race) [2]
Whose pile with its rocky top
Bends straight towards the warm south wind.
Beneath its threatening brow
Yawns the Oestrymnic Bay before the inhabitants ;
In which the isles, Oestrymnides, raise their heads. The Oestrymnides.
Scattered they lie, and rich in the metals,
Tin and lead. A vigorous race inhabits them,
Noble-minded and skilful at their trades ;
All along the mountain range business is carried on :
And in their well-known skiffs they widely plough the turbid sea
And the storm-pit of the monster-tenanted Ocean.
These folk indeed do not build their keels of pine,
Nor do they know how to fashion them, neither do they round their

Curuant faselos ; sed rei ad miraculum,
Nauigia iunctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque uastum saepe percurrunt salum.
Ast hinc duobus in Sacram [1] (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est.
Haec inter undas multa[m] caespitem iacet,
Eamque lati gens Hiernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
Tartesiisque in terminos Oestrumnidum
Negotiandi mos erat : Carthaginis
Etiam coloni[s], et uulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, haec ad[h]ibant aequora :
Quae Himilco Poenus mensibus uix quattuor,
Vt ipse semet rem probasse retulit
Enauigantem, posse transmitti adserit :
Sic nulla late flabra propellunt ratem,
Sic segnis humor aequoris pigri stupet.
Adi<i>ci<t> e[n]t illud, plurimum inter gurgites

Barks from fir, as is the common practice, but with wondrous
Skill they make each skiff with skins bound together,
And often in their hide-bound crafts, skim o'er the mighty deep.
From here a two days' voyage the Sacred Island[1] lies, Ireland.
(For by this name the Ancients knew it,)
Rich in green sward amid the waves it lies,
Peopled thickly by the folk of the Hierni.
Near them lies the broad isle of the Albiones. England.
The Tartesii were accustomed to trade even to
The boundaries of the Oestrymnides. Even the Carthaginians
And the people dwelling round the Pillars of Hercules
Were accustomed to make visits to these seas.
Four months would scarce suffice to make the voyage
There and back, as Himilco the Carthaginian had
Proved by sailing thither himself:
So sluggish are the breezes to propel the bark,
And so dead are the waters of the heavy sea.
Himilco tells us too, that there is much sea-weed

[1] The old name for Ireland was *Eriu*. The copy of Himilco's work by Eratosthenes would represent the word by ἱερ, which would suggest *Sacer*. The title Holy Island so frequently applied to Ireland thus originated in bad etymology ?

Extare fucum, et saepe uirgulti uici
Retinere pup<p>im : dicit hic nihilo minus,
Non in profundum terga dimitti maris,
Paruoque aquarum uix supertexi solum :
Obire semper huc et hu[n]c ponti feras
Nauigia lenta et languide repentia
Internatare beluas : siquis dehinc
Ab insulis Oestrymnicis lembum audeat
Vrgere in undas, axe qua Lycaonis
Rigescit aethra, caespitem Ligur[g]um subit
Cassum incolarum : nam*que* Celtarum manu,
Crebrisque dudum praeliis uacuata sunt :
Liguresque pulsi, ut saepe fors aliquos agit,
Venere in ista, quae per horrentis tenent
Plerum*que* dumos : creber his scrupus locis,
Rigidaeque rupes, atque montium minae
Cælo inseruntur : et fugax gens haec quidem
Diu inter arta cautium duxit diem,
Secreta ab undis ; nam sali metuens erat

In the whirls of that sea, which, like the osier withes,
Retards the bark: and yet, he adds, the Ocean-bed
Is here of no great depth, and
Covered with but a scanty flow of water.
The wild denizens of the deep meet one on every side,
And monstrous fish swim among the slowly sailing
Barks: he who shall dare
To urge his bark beyond the Oestrymnic isles into The North Sea.
The waves, where 'neath the Great and Little Bear
The air grows rigid, shall reach the Ligurians' land,
Tenantless now, and wasted long by bands of Celts on North Sea.
Celts
And by many a bloody foray:
The Ligurians, put to flight, as fate so oft decrees,
Came to these parts, and 'mid the bristling thickets
Hold their own: on all sides here is barren rock,
Stern crags, and threatening mountains
Towering to the sky; and here these fugitives
Long passed their days in the rocky crevices,
Safe from the waves, for mindful of their former lot,

Priscum ob peric[u]lum : post quies et otium,
Securitate roborante audaciam,
Persuasit altis deuehi cubilibus,
Atque in marinos iam locos descendere.
Post illa rursum, quae sup*ra* fa[c]ti sumus,
Magnus patescit aequoris fus<i> sinus
Ophiusam ad usque : rursum ab huius lit[t]ore
Internum ad aequor, qua mare insinuare se
Dixi ante terris, quodque Sardum nuncupant,
Septem dierum tenditur *pediti* uia.
Ophiussa porro tanta panditur latus,
Quantam iacere Pelopis audis insulam
Graiorum in agro : haec dicta primo Oestymnis est,
Locos et arua Oestrymnicis habitantibus ;
Post multa serpens effugauit incolas,
Vacuamque glaebam nominis fecit sui.

(*Idem*, pp. 147–150, lines 85–157.)

AESCHYLUS AND HELLANICUS

Aeschylus, the great tragic poet, was born at Eleusis, near Athens, B.C. 525. He wrote his tragedy, *Prometheus Unbound*, about B.C. 460. Of this we have but a few fragments, one of which is quoted below. He died in B.C. 456. Hellanicus was born

They feared the sea. But in after-days repose
and leisure,
—When security had bred courage,—
Induced them from their mountain homes,
And led them to the sea-shore once again.
Beyond the places we have just described,
A mighty gulf of wide-expanding sea runs down Bay of Biscay.
Even to Ophiussa. The distance from this shore
to the
Land-bound sea, where the waters, as I have set
out
In another verse, embrace land known as Sardum,
Is a journey, to one on foot, of seven days.
The Ophiussian shore winds on a distance
As far as that we consider the isle of Pelops
In the Grecian land to lie from us: this once
was called Oestrymnis,
For here the Oestrymnii tilled the soil;
But after many years a serpent made the
cultivators flee
And gave its name to the desert tract.

---

at Mytilene in Lesbos, circa B.C. 480, and is said to have gone on writing until after B.C. 406. The two writers reflect the geographical ideas of their age, when Central Europe was a *terra incognita*, much as Central Africa was before the expeditions of

Livingstone. In this unexplored country they placed the Rhipean Mountains [1] in which the Danube takes

AESCHYLUS

I. *τὸν Ἴστρον φησὶν, ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καταφέρεσθαι καὶ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὀρῶν.*

(*Poetarum Scenicorum Graecorum*, Teubner, 1869, p. 115, No. 197.)

HELLANICUS

I. Steph. Byz. *Ὑπερβόρεοι . . . Ἑλλάνικος δὲ Ὑπερβόρειοι γράφει, διὰ διφθόγγου.*

II. Clem. Alex. Stromm. i. p. 305 C: *τοὺς δὲ Ὑπερβορέους Ἑλλάνικος ὑπὲρ τὰ Ῥίπαια ὄρη οἰκεῖν ἱστορεῖ· διδάσκεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς δικαιοσύνην, μὴ κρεωφαγοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀκροδρύοις χρωμένους.*

Theodor. xii. vol. iv. p. 1024, edit. Schulz: *Ἑλλάνικος ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις ἔφη, τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους οἰκεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ Ῥίπαια ὄρη, ἀσκεῖν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, μὴ κρεοφαγοῦντας ἀλλ' ἀκροδρύοις χρωμένους.*

(*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. i. p. 58, No. 96.)

HERODOTUS

Herodotus was born (circa B.C. 490–480) at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. He died circa B.C. 424. The accuracy of his treatment and his grasp of his subject

[1] *Vide* Index under Rhipean.

its rise. These mountains are the Alps and Black Forest. The land between these and the western sea is inhabited by the Hyperboreans (or the Celts[2]).

AESCHYLUS

He says that the Danube comes down from the Hyperboreans and the Rhipean Mountains.

HELLANICUS

I. Hyperboreans . . . Hellanicus writes Hyperboraeans, with a diphthong.

II. Hellanicus relates that the Hyperboreans live beyond the Rhipean mountains, that they teach justice and do not feed on flesh, but make use of acorns and other fruit.

Hellanicus in his history has stated that the Hyperboreans live beyond the Rhipean mountains, that they practise justice, eat no flesh, but use acorns and other fruit.

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have earned him the title of ' The Father of History.' He is always careful to discriminate between what he learned from personal observation, oral information, and mere conjecture. He began his history about B.C. 444.

[2] *Vide infra,* Poseidonius, introduction.

The first extract given below was written at Athens about 444 B.C. In it Herodotus makes the Danube rise near the city Pyrene. This gross error is not repeated in the second extract, which was written some years later at Thurii. Here we are told the Danube rises in the country of the Celts, who after the Cynetes are the last people in Western Europe. The Cynetes dwelt in the extreme south of Portugal,[1] and the Celts consequently in circa B.C. 442 extended over the south of Europe from the Alps to modern Portugal. We

I. . . . Ἴστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοί εἰσι ἔξω Ἡρακληΐων στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων. (ii. c. 33.)

II. Ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἴστρῳ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἵμου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτὸν, Ἄτλας, καὶ Αὔρας, καὶ Τίβισις· διὰ δὲ Θρηΐκης καὶ Θρηΐκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες, Ἄθρυς, καὶ Νόης, καὶ Ἀρτάνης, ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ οὔρεος Ῥοδόπης, Σκίος ποταμὸς, μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἷμον, ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον Ἄγγρος ποταμὸς, ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν, καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον·

[1] *Vide* Himilco, page 17, lines 200 *et seq.*, and map, page 11.

have seen[2] that circa B.C. 500 the Celts had not established themselves in the Spanish peninsula, hence we must date the Celtic conquest of the Spanish peninsula between B.C. 500–442.

In the second extract Herodotus rejects the Hyperboreans as mythical. Reasoning similarly we should refuse to believe in the existence of Mount Atlas, for it is named after a mythical person.[3] Here we must dissent from Herodotus.

I. The river Danube has its rise in the country of the Celts and the city Pyrene, and so runs that it divides Europe in the midst. Now the Celts dwell outside the Pillars of Hercules and border upon the Cynetes, who dwell furthest west of all those who have their abode in Europe.

II. From the Agathyrsians the Maris flows and joins the Danube, and from the summits of Haemos (the Balkans) flow three other great rivers towards the north and fall into it, namely, Atlas, Auras, Tibisis. Through Thrace and the Thracian Crobyzians flow the rivers Athrys, Noes, and Artanes, running into the Danube. And from the Paeonians and Mount Rhodope the river Kios runs into it also, cutting through Haemos in the midst. From the Illyrians the river Angros flows northward and, running out into the Triballian plain, into the river

[2] *Vide* introduction to Himilco, p. 10.

[3] Cf. Jubainville, *Litt. Celt.* vol. xii. pp. 25–27. On the Hyperborean Romances see Paulys, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, and Index *sub* Hyperboreans.

ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον. οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους, ἐόντας μεγάλους, ὁ Ἴστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης Ὀμβρίκων Κάρπις ποταμὸς, καὶ ἄλλος Ἄλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορῆν ῥέοντες ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ἐσδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτόν. ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διά πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἴστρος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει. (iv. 49.)

III. . . . ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς,[1] ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. (i. 94.)

IV. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος[2] λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, λέγων ὡς τὸν ὀϊστὸς περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενον. Εἰ δέ εἰσί τινες Ὑπερβόρεοι ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων Γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη, καὶ οὐδένα νόον ἔχοντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἳ Ὠκεανόν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοισι γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἑκάστης αὐτέων, καὶ οἵη τίς ἐστι ἐς γραφὴν ἑκάστη.

(iv. 36.)

Brongos, and the Brongos flows into the Danube; thus the Danube receives both these large rivers: and from the region which is above the Ombri, the river Karpis and another river, the Alpis, flow also towards the north and run into it. For the Danube flows in fact through the whole of Europe, beginning with the land of the Celts who, after the Cynetes, dwell furthest west of all the peoples of Europe. Thus flowing through all Europe it falls into the sea by the side of Scythia.

III. [A band of Lydians leave their territories to seek more fertile lands and sail] until after passing by many nations they came at last to the land of the Ombri,[1] and there they founded cities and dwell up to the present time.

IV. Let what has been said of the Hyperboreans suffice: for the tale of Abaris,[2] who is reported to have been a Hyperborean, I do not vouch for: how the arrow carried him while fasting from all food about over all the earth. If, however, there are Hyperboreans, it follows that there are also Hypernotians; and I laugh when I see that, though many before this have drawn maps of the earth, yet no one has set the matter forth in an intelligent way, seeing that they draw Ocean flowing round the earth, which is circular, exactly as if drawn with compasses; and they make Asia of equal size with Europe. In a few words I shall declare the size of each division and of what nature it is as regards outline.

[1] *Vide* Glossary *sub* Ombri. Also cf. Bertrand and Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les Vallées du Pô et du Danube*, pp. 71–76.

[2] Cf. Pausanias, iii. 13, § 2.

V. *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν . . . οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ.*

(iii. 115.)

ANONYMI [VULGO SCYLACIS CARYANDENSIS]

The author of this periplus is not known, but its date has been fixed with tolerable accuracy at B.C. 356. The Mediterranean coast between the Pyrenees and the Rhone was held by the Iberians and Ligurians, while the Ligurians held the coasts between the

§ 17. (*Μετὰ δὲ Σαυνίτας ἔθνος ἐστὶν Ὀμβρικοί, καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῷ*) *Ἀγκὼν ἐστί. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τιμᾷ Διομήδην, εὐεργετηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ. Παράπλους δὲ τῆς Ὀμβρικῆς ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν δύο καὶ νυκτός.*

§ 18. *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ὀμβρικὸν Τυῤῥηνοί. Διήκουσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυῤῥηνικοῦ πελάγους ἔξωθεν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν· καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ἑλληνὶς Σπῖνα) καὶ ποταμός· καὶ ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ ποταμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι σταδίων. Καί ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀπὸ Πίσης πόλεως ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν τριῶν.*

§ 19. *Μετὰ δὲ Τυῤῥηνούς εἰσι Κελτοὶ ἔθνος, ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς στρατείας, ἐπὶ στενῶν μέχρι Ἀδρίου διήκοντες· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μυχὸς τοῦ Ἀδρίου κόλπου.*

§ 20. *Μετὰ δὲ Κελτοὺς Ἐνετοί εἰσιν ἔθνος καὶ ποταμὸς Ἠριδανὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ παράπλους ἐστὶν ἡμέρας μιᾶς.*

V. Concerning the western extremities of Europe I cannot speak with certainty . . . nor am I acquainted with the existence of any islands called Cassiterides from which tin is brought to us.

Rhone and Italy. The Celts touched the Mediterranean at the north of the Adriatic.

The text of this Scylax can be found in C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. i. pp. 25 *et seq.* A more recent edition was published by B. Fabricius (Teubner, 1878), which has been followed below.

§ 17. After the Sauniti come the tribe of the Umbri, in whose country is the city of Ancon. This tribe worship Diomedes, whom they consider a benefactor and to whom they have a temple. The coast of the Umbri is a sail of two days and a night.

§ 18. After the Umbrian territory the Tyrrheni are settled. These extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic, and among them is a Greek city called Spina, and a river. The sail to the city up the river is about twenty stades. The city is a three days' journey from Pisa.

§ 19. After the Tyrrhenians are settled a Celtic people who were left behind in a predatory expedition after following as far as the head of the Adriatic.

§ 20. After the Celts come the Veneti. In their country is the river Po, and thence is a sail of one day.

§ 21. Μετὰ δὲ Ἐνετούς εἰσιν Ἴστροι ἔθνος, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἴστρος. Οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐκβάλλει ἐν διασκευῇ ὡς εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

XENOPHON, PLATO, ARISTOTLE, EPHORUS, THEOPOMPUS

The Celtic conquest of the Spanish peninsula in the fifth century B.C. brought the Celts into close contact with the Mediterranean, while their wild march on Rome made their name ring throughout the classical world. Xenophon (B.C. 431–355) tells us that they were engaged by Dionysius of Sicily to assist his Lacedaemonian allies in the Peloponnesian

XENOPHON

I. Ἅμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων, καταπλεῖ Δακεδαιμονίοις ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριήρεις πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἦγον δὲ Κελτούς τε καὶ Ἴβηρας, καὶ ἱππεῖς ὡς πεντήκοντα.

(*Hellenica*, vii. 1, § 20.)

II. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν.

(*Hellenica*, vii. 1, § 31.)

PLATO

I. λέγω δ' οὐκ οἴνου πέρι πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ μή, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς πέρι, πότερον, ὥσπερ Σκύθαι, χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι, χρηστέον, καὶ ἔτι Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες καὶ Θρᾷκες, πολεμικὰ ξύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, ἢ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε.

(*Leges*, i. 637.)

[1] This is the first mention of Celtic mercenaries in ancient history.

§ 21. Then comes the tribe of the Istri and the river Danube. This river flows into the Black Sea, turning towards Egypt.

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war of 369–368 B.C. Plato (B.C. 428–348), who had spent some years at the court of Dionysius, was struck by their warlike spirit: while their successful march on Rome in 388 B.C. reached the ears of Aristotle (B.C. 384–322), who preserves some of the stories about them current in his day. But the information possessed by the Greeks was meagre and inexact, as the extracts from Ephorus (B.C. 400–330) and Theopompus (B.C. 375–306) prove.

XENOPHON

I. When these things had been accomplished, the reinforcements from Dionysius sailed to the Lacedaemonians, consisting of more than twenty triremes and conveying Celts and Iberians and about fifty horsemen.[1] Celtic mercenaries. B.C. 369.

II. And the rest fleeing away were slain; many by the horsemen and many too by the Celts. B.C. 368.

PLATO

I. I am not discussing the practice of drinking or not drinking wine in general, but about downright drunkenness: are we to follow the custom of the Scythians, and Persians, and Carthaginians, and Celts, and Iberians, who are all warlike nations, or to follow your custom, who, as you say, wholly abstain?

ARISTOTLE

I. ὥστε ἀναγκῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε κἂν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν, ἔξω Κελτῶν ἢ κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεροι φανερῶς τετιμήκασι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσίαν.[1]

(*Politica*, Bk. ii. 9, § 7.)

II. Ἔτι δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις πλεονεκτεῖν ἡ τοιαύτη τετίμηται δύναμις, οἷον ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ Θρᾳξὶ καὶ Κελτοῖς· ἐν ἐνίοις γὰρ καὶ νόμοι τινές εἰσι παροξύνοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην, καθάπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι φασὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κρίκων κόσμον λαμβάνειν ὅσας ἂν στρατεύσωνται στρατείας.

(*Politica*, Bk. iv. 2, § 10.)

III. Συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς πράξεις εὐχρηστότατον· διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς μὲν εἰς ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οἷον Κελτοῖς.

(*Politica*, Bk. iv. 17, § 2.)

IV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης [τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὄρος πρὸς δυσμὴν ἰσημερινὴν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ] ῥέουσιν ὅ δ' Ἴστρος δι' ὅλης τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὸν Ἐυξεινον πόντον τῶν δ' ἄλλων ποταμῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Ἀρκυνίων· ταῦτα δὲ

[1] Aristotle, who had only scanty information on the Celts and that only second-hand, is the first writer to make this charge against the Celts. He is followed by other Greek writers (*v.* Index *sub* Paiderastia), but the Romans, who had more direct knowledge of the Celts, are silent on the point.

ARISTOTLE

I. The consequence is that in such a state wealth is *too highly* esteemed, especially if the citizens are under the thumb of their wives, after the manner of most warlike and military nations, except the Celts and a few others who openly approve of connexion with the male.[1]

II. And in all nations which are able to gratify their military ambitions, e.g. the Scythians, Persians, Thracians, Celts, it is military power which is held in esteem. Thus in some countries there are actually special laws to encourage the pursuit of this virtue, as at Carthage, where it is said that men are allowed to wear by way of ornament as many rings as the number of campaigns in which they have served.

III. To inure children to the cold from their earliest years is also an excellent practice which greatly conduces to health and is most effective for hardening them for military service. Hence it is customary among many non-Greek peoples to plunge their newborn children into a cold stream, or, as the Celts do, to clothe them in a light wrapper only.

IV. In the Pyrenees—a mountain situated in the Celtic country, towards the equinoctial sunset (i.e. W. of Greece)—the Danube takes its rise and flows through the whole of Europe into the Euxine. Of the other rivers the majority flow northward from the Hercynian Forest, which, both in height and extent, is the greatest mountain in these regions.

καὶ ὕψει καὶ πλήθει μεγιστα περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτόν ἐστιν. ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσχάτης Σκυθίας αἱ καλούμεναι Ῥῖπαι, περὶ ὧν τοῦ μεγέθους λίαν εἰσὶν οἱ λεγόμενοι λόγοι μυθώδεις.

(*Meteorologica*, Bk. i. 13, § 18–19.)

V. Καὶ περὶ τὴν Λιγυστικὴν οὐκ ἐλάττων τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καταπίνεταί τις ποταμός, καὶ πάλιν ἀναδίδωσι κατ' ἄλλον τόπον· ὁ δὲ Ῥοδανὸς ποταμὸς ναυσιπέρατός ἐστιν.

(*Meteorologica*, Bk. i. 13, § 28.)

VI. ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι καὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ καὶ τῇ Ἠπείρῳ οἱ ὄνοι μικροί, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ Κελτικῇ ὅλως οὐ γίγνονται· δυσχείμερα γὰρ ταῦτα.[1]

(*de Animalibus Historia*, Bk. viii. 28, § 9.)

VII. Ἔτι δὲ ψυχρὸν τὸ ζῷον ὁ ὄνος ἐστὶ, διόπερ ἐν τοῖς χειμερινοῖς οὐ θέλει γίνεσθαι τόποις διὰ τὸ δύσριγον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, οἷον περὶ Σκύθας καὶ τὴν ὄμορον χώραν, οὐδὲ περὶ Κελτοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ψυχρὰ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη ἡ χώρα.

(*de Generatione Animal.* Bk. ii. 8, § 14.)

VIII. Καλοῦ δὴ ἕνεκα ὁ ἀνδρεῖος ὑπομένει καὶ πράττει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν· τῶν δ' ὑπερβαλλόντων ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀφοβίᾳ ἀνώνυμος [εἴρηται δ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ὅτι πολλά ἐστιν ἀνώνυμα], εἴη δ' ἄν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος εἰ μηθὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε τὰ κύματα, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτούς· ὁ δὲ τῷ θαρρεῖν ὑπερβάλλων περὶ τὰ φοβερὰ θρασύς.

(*Ethica Nicomachea*, Bk. iii. 7, § 7.)

Immediately under the Bear (i.e. due north) beyond the extreme limit of Scythia are the Rhipean mountains, about the size of which the bulk of the stories told are mythical.

V. In the Ligurian territory a river not less than the Rhone sinks under the surface, and rises again in another place. But the river Rhone is navigable.

VI. In Illyria and Thrace and Epirus the asses are small, while in Scythia and in the Celtic countries they are not found at all, for these lands are extremely cold.[1]

VII. Moreover the ass is a frigid animal, and owing to its natural susceptibility to cold, will not exist in cold countries, such as Scythia and the country bordering on it: nor indeed is he found in the Celtic lands beyond Iberia, because of the cold climate of those parts.

VIII. The brave man endures and performs brave deeds from the motive of honour; but with regard to excess, the man who is fearless to excess has no special name, — because, as we have said before, many qualities are unnamed,—unless we dub him mad or insensible, if he fears nothing whatever, e.g. if he recks not earthquakes or waves, as is related of the Celts; but excess of confidence in face of objects of terror is called temerity.

[1] The ass is not mentioned in Irish literature before the sixteenth century. MM. Bertrand and S. Reinach remark: 'La Souabe, avec ses lacs dont quelques-uns gèlent facilement, est certainement le pays touchant aux sources du Danube dont parle Hérodote et qu'il attribue aux *Celtes*. Ces pays sont relativement froids, c'est ce qui explique la réputation que la *Celtique* avait du temps d'Aristote.' (*Les Celtes dans les Vallées du Pô*, &c., p. 183.)

IX. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν, ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς· τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Λεύκιον εἶναι φησίν· ἦν δὲ Μάρκος, οὐ Λεύκιος, ὁ Κάμιλλος.[1]

(*Plutarchi Camillus*, xxii. 4.)

EPHORUS

I. Ἐφόρου ἐκ τῆς δ' ἱστορίας· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀπηλιώτην καὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἀνατολῶν τόπον Ἰνδοὶ κατοικοῦσι· τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσημβρίαν Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Ζεφύρου καὶ δυσμῶν Κελτοὶ κατέχουσι·[2] τὸν δὲ κατὰ Βορρᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄρκτους Σκύθαι κατοικοῦσιν. Ἔστιν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἴσον ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰθιόπων μεῖζον, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔλαττον· καὶ παραπλήσιον ἑκατέρων ἀλλήλοις ἔχει τοῦ τόπου τὸ μέγεθος. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ [Ἰνδοὶ] εἰσὶ μεταξὺ θερινῶν καὶ χειμερινῶν ἀνατολῶν. Κελτοὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ θερινῶν μέχρι χειμερινῶν δυσμῶν χώραν κατέχουσι, καὶ τοῦτο μεῖζόν ἐστι ἐκείνῳ τῷ διαστήματι καὶ μάλιστά πως ἀντικείμενον. Ἡ δὲ

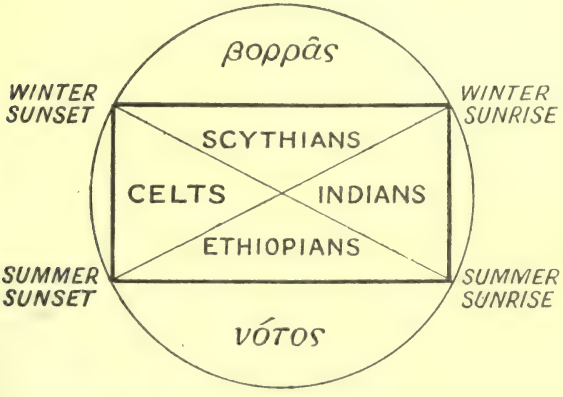
[1] Aristotle refers to the Gallic invasion of B.C. 348, when the Gauls, surprised at the extensive preparations of the Romans, retired without offering battle: cf. Polybius, *infra*, excerpt. XII. Plutarch is misled by the fictions of the Roman panegyrists. See introductory remarks to Livy, vol. ii.

IX. It is clear that the philosopher Aristotle had heard correctly that Rome was taken by the Celts: but he calls its deliverer Lucius, whereas Camillus was not called Lucius but Marcus.[1]

EPHORUS

I. [From the History of Ephorus.] The Indians inhabit the east and the country towards the rising sun; while the Ethiopians dwell towards the south; to the west the land is held by the Celts; and the north is peopled by the Scythians.[2] These tracts, however, are not of equal extent, for those of the Scythians and Ethiopians are the larger, those of the Indians and Celts the less and almost equal in size. For the Indians are between the summer- and winter-

[2] The following diagram may help to make this obscure geography more intelligible.



τῶν Σκυθῶν κατοίκησις τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς περιφορᾶς τὸν διαλείποντα κατέχει τόπον· ἀντίκειται δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἔθνος, ὃ δοκεῖ παρατείνειν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν χειμερινῶν μέχρι δυσμῶν τῶν βραχυτάτων.

Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.[1]

Μηνύει δὲ καὶ Ἔφορος τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας δόξαν, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης λόγῳ, τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τόπων εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διῃρημένων, τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπηλιώτην Ἰνδοὺς ἔχειν· πρὸς Νότον δὲ Αἰθίοπας· πρὸς δύσιν δὲ Κελτούς· πρὸς δὲ Βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Σκύθας· προστίθησι δ', ὅτι μείζων ἡ Αἰθιοπία ἢ καὶ ἡ Σκυθία. Δοκεῖ γάρ, φησὶ, τὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἔθνος παρατείνειν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν χειμερινῶν μέχρι δυσμῶν· ἡ Σκυθία δ' ἀντίκειται τούτῳ.

(*Cosmas Topogr. Christ.* p. 148 ;
Frag. Hist. Graec. vol. i. pp. 243, 244, Frag. 38.)

II. *Ἔφορος δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσάν τε τῷ μεγέθει*[2] *λέγει τὴν Κελτικήν, ὥστε ἥσπερ νῦν Ἰβηρίας καλοῦμεν ἐκείνοις τὰ πλεῖστα προσνέμειν μέχρι Γαδείρων· φιλέλληνάς*[3] *τε ἀποφαίνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐοικότα τοῖς νῦν. Ἴδιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἀσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, μὴ παχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προγάστορας, τὸν δ' ὑπερβαλλόμενον τῶν νέων τὸ τῆς ζώνης μέτρον, ζημιοῦσθαι.*

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 245, Frag. 43,
and Strabo, iv. 4, § 6.)

[1] Homer, *Od.* A. 23.

[2] Strabo is incorrect here. He seems to forget that the Celts conquered the Spanish peninsula between B.C. 500 and B.C. 442, and held most of it up to the Carthaginian conquest, B.C. 237. *Vide* Introduction to Herodotus, p. 30.

[3] Rufus Festus Avienus (iv. 689–691, Holder's edition) says:

Arelatus illic ciuitas attollitur,
Theline uocata sub priore saeculo,
Graio incolente.

sunrisings, and the Celts hold the country from the summer- to the winter-sunsettings, and this is greater by that difference and mostly opposite to it. The territory inhabited by the Scythians occupies the remaining space of the sun's orbit, and is situated opposite to the Ethiopian folk, and appears to extend from the winter sunrisings as far as the shortest sunsettings.

'The Ethiopians, most remote of men, are divided in twain,
'Some dwell towards the setting, others towards the rising sun.' [1]

In his work on Europe Ephorus relates the old opinion about Ethiopia; that of the four quarters of the heavens and earth, the Indians occupy towards the east, the Ethiopians towards the south, the Celts towards the west, and the Scythians towards the north: he adds that Ethiopia is larger than Scythia, for it seems, he states, that the Ethiopian nation extends from the winter sunrisings to the settings, and that Scythia is situated opposite to this.

II. Ephorus extends the boundaries of Keltica too far,[2] including within it most of what we now name Iberia, as far as the Gades. He states that the people are great admirers of the Greeks,[3] and relates many particulars concerning them not applicable to their present state. This is one:—That they are very careful to avoid growing fat or big-bellied, and that if any young man exceeds the measure of a certain girdle, he is punished.

III. *οὐκ ἐυ δ' οὐδ' ὁ φήσας ὅπλα αἴρεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοὺς Κίμβρους, οὐδ ὅτι ἀφοβίαν οἱ Κελτοὶ ἀσκοῦντες, κατακλυζεσθαι τὰς οἰκίας ὑπομένουσιν, εἶτ' ἀνοικοδομοῦσι, καὶ ὅτι πλείων αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει φθόρος ἐξ ὕδατος ἢ πολέμου, ὅπερ Ἔφορος φησιν.*[1] (Strabo, vii. 2.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 245, Frag. 44.)

THEOPOMPUS

I. Theopompus, ante quem nemo mentionem habuit, urbem (Romam) dumtaxat a Gallis captam dixit. (Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 9.)

II. Sed Dionysium gerentem bellum, legati Gallorum, qui ante menses Romam incenderant, societatem amicitiamque petentes adeunt. (Justin. xx. 5.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 303, Frag. 144.)

III. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν "Ἰλλύριοι, φησὶ, δειπνοῦσι καθήμενοι καὶ πίνουσιν· ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς συνουσίας, καὶ καλὸν αὐταῖς προπίνειν οἷς ἂν τύχωσι των παρόντων. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν συμποσίων αὖται τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπάγουσι· καὶ κακόβιοι δὲ πάντες εἰσὶ, καὶ ζώννυνται τὰς κοιλίας ζώναις πλατείαις, ὅταν πίνωσι. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον μετρίως ποιοῦσιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σφοδρότερον πίνωσι, μᾶλλον ἀεὶ συνάγουσι τὴν ζώνην. Ἀριαῖοι δὲ, φησὶ, κέκτηνται προσπελατῶν, ὥσπερ Εἱλώτων, τριάκοντα μυριάδας· καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν μεθύουσι καὶ ποιοῦνται συνουσίας, καὶ διάκεινται πρὸς ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν ἀκρατέστερον. Διὸ καὶ Κελτοὶ πολεμοῦντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰδότες αὐτῶν τὴν ακρασίαν, παρήγγειλαν ἅπασι τοῖς στρατιώταις δεῖπνον*

[1] Ephorus would seem to have written this after reading the work of Pytheas (p. 79, excerpt. XXVIII.).

III. Neither is it true, as has been related, that the Cimbri take arms against the flood-tides, nor that the Celts, as an exercise of their intrepidity, suffer their houses to be washed away by them, and afterwards rebuild them; and that a greater number of them perish by water than by war, as Ephorus relates.[1]

THEOPOMPUS

I. Theopompus, who is the first to mention it, B.C. 388. says merely that the city of Rome was captured by the Gauls.

II. When Dionysius was waging war, envoys came from the Gauls, who some months before had set fire to Rome, with the object of making an alliance and friendly understanding with him.

III. In the second book of his History of Philip he says: 'The Illyrians take their meals and drink sitting down. They also bring their women to their gatherings, and the company gallantly toasts the ladies. These lead the men from the feasts: all are of loose morals. They bind their thighs with wide girdles; when they drink they do so at first in moderation, but when they get warm in their cups they narrow down the girdle. They have three hundred thousand dependants answering to the helot-class. They hold drinking bouts every day and indulge to excess in eating and drinking. Accordingly, when making war on them, the Celts, remembering their intemperate habits, prepared a very

ὡς λαμπρότατον παρασκευάσαντας κατὰ σκηνὴν, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰ σιτία πόαν τινὰ φαρμακώδη, δυναμένην διακόπτειν τὰς κοιλίας καὶ διακαθαίρειν· γενομένου δὲ τούτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν *ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔῤῥιψαν ἑαυτοὺς, ἀκράτορες τῶν γαστέρων γενόμενοι.*" (Athenaeus, x. p. 443.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 284, Frag. 41.)

IV. *Δριλώνιος, πόλις μεγάλη, ἐσχάτη τῶν* Κελτικῶν. *Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Δριλώνιος, ὡς Θεόπομπος μγ'.* (Stephanus Byz.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 316, Frag. 223.)

ANONYMI [VULGO SCYMNI CHII] ORBIS DESCRIPTIO

The author of this periplus is unknown, but its date may be fixed at about the time Ephorus

Ταύτης σύνεγγυς δ' ἐστὶ . . . πόλις
λαβοῦσα Τυρίων ἐμπόρων ἀποικίαν,
Γάδειρ', ὅπου μέγιστα γίνεσθαι λόγος
κήτη. Μετὰ ταύτην δ' ἔστιν ἡμερῶν δυοῖν
τελέσαντι πλοῦν ἐμπόριον εὐτυχέστατον
ἡ λεγομένη Ταρτησσὸς, ἐπιφανὴς πόλις.
ποταμόρρυτον κασσίτερον ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς
χρυσόν τε καὶ χαλκὸν φέρουσα πλείονα.
Ἔπειτα χώρα Κελτικὴ *καλουμένη*

sumptuous banquet in their tents for all the soldiers, and mixed with the food a herb of intoxicating properties which strongly purged their bowels. Thereupon some of them were captured by the Celts and slain, while others, unable to endure the workings of their stomachs, threw themselves into the rivers.'

IV. Drilonius, a large city and the boundary of the Celtic country. Drilonius is a barbarous city (?) according to Theopompus, in his 43rd book.

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wrote, and prior to the publication of the work of Pytheas. See C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores.*

Near this is a . . . city,
which received a colony of Tyrian traders,
by name Gadeira ; there it is said the largest whales
are found. After that one comes, after a two-days' voyage,
to the renowned and very flourishing city
named Tartessus. It produces
tin washed down by the streams from the Celtic country,
and gold and copper in abundance.
Then comes the country known as the Celtic land,

μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης τῆς κατὰ Σαρδὼ κειμένης,
ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἔθνος.

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς ἀνατολῶν πᾶσαν σχεδόν
οἰκοῦσιν Ἰνδοὶ, τὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
Αἰθίοπες ἐγγὺς κείμενοι νότου πνοῆς·
τὸν ἀπὸ ζεφύρου Κελτοὶ δὲ μέχρι δυσμῶν τόπον
θερινῶν ἔχουσιν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν Σκύθαι.

Ἰνδοὶ μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ θερινῶν ἀνατολῶν
καὶ χειμερινῶν οἰκοῦσι· Κελτοὶ δ' ἀνάπαλιν
ὑπ' ἰσημερινῆς θερινῆς τε δύσεως, ὡς λόγος.
Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη τὰ τέτταρ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις
τοῖς πλήθεσίν τε τῶν κατοικούντων ἴσα·

ἡ δ' Αἰθιόπων πλέον' ἐστὶ χώραν καὶ Σκυθῶν
ἐρημίαν δ' ἔχουσα πλείστην, διὰ τὸ καί
τὰ μὲν ἔμπυρ' εἶναι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὰ δ' ἔνυγρα
Χρῶνται δὲ Κελτοὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς,
ἔχοντες οἰκειότατα πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα

διὰ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς τῶν ἐπιξενουμένων·[1]
σὺν μουσικῇ δ' ἄγουσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας,

[1] Cf. Ephorus, p. 44, excerpt. II.

which extends as far as the sea lying towards Sardinia,
and these are the greatest people towards the west.
For almost the whole country included under the east
is inhabited by the Indians, while to the south
the Ethiopians dwell under the blast of the south wind:
the Celts occupy the country from the west wind as far as the
summer sunsetting, while the Scythians hold the country to the north.
The Indians dwell between the summer and
winter sunrisings: but the Celts on the other hand
live between the equinoctial and summer settings, as is said.
The four people then are equal in the number
and multitude of their inhabitants:
the country occupied by the Ethiopians and by the Scythians
is more extensive, but contains, however, a very large desert;
hence a great part is burnt up by the heat, and part is swamp.
The Celts practise the customs of the Greeks, being on
the most friendly terms with Greece
through the exchange of 'guest-friendship': [1]
they conduct their public assemblies to the accompaniment of music,

ζηλοῦντες αὐτὴν ἡμερώσεως χάριν.
Τούτων δὲ κεῖται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη
στήλη βόρειος· ἔστι δ' ὑψηλὴ πάνυ

190. εἰς κυματῶδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσ' ἄκραν.
Οἰκοῦσι τῆς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἐγγὺς τόπους
Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἔσχατοι
Ἐνετοί τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν
Ἴστρων καθηκόντων· λέγουσι δ' αὐτόθεν

195. τὸν Ἴστρον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν τοῦ ῥεύματος.

* * *

226. Εἰσὶ δ' ἐπάνω μέν τῶν Πελασγῶν Ὀμβρικοί . . .

* * *

366. Μεσσαπίων δ' οἰκοῦσιν . . . .
. . . . . Ὀμβρικοί,
οὓς φασιν ἀβροδίαιτον αἱρεῖσθαι βίον
Λυδοῖσι βιοτεύοντας ἐμφερέστατα.

PYTHEAS

About the time of the death of Aristotle (B.C. 322) Pytheas of Marseilles sailed round the coast of Spain, along the western seaboard of France, reached and explored the island of Britain, visited the north of Scotland, sailed along the coasts of the Baltic, conversed with the tribes living there, and crowned his daring voyage by the discovery of Thule. At the time of this venturesome expedition the Carthaginians held the secrets of the tin and amber trades, and

zealously practising it for its softening effects.
The northern so-called Pillar is in their territory:
it is very high and reaches out into a
190. promontory towards the billowy sea.
The parts in the neighbourhood of the Pillar are inhabited
by the most remote of the Celts and
the Eneti and the furthest off of the Istri,
who extend inwards as far as the Adriatic.
Hence it is said
195. the Ister has its rise.

* * *

226. Beyond the Pelasgi are found the Umbri . . .

* * *

366. Of the Messapii there live . . . [*nonnulla desunt*]
. . . . . The Umbri
are said to lead a luxurious life,
their style of living resembling most closely that of the Lydians.

---

guarded them jealously.[1] The Greek merchants of Marseilles determined to explore the sources of the enormous wealth of their trade rivals. The services of Euthymenes and Pytheas, two distinguished men of science, were enlisted. Euthymenes was directed to explore the west coast of Africa, while Pytheas was entrusted with the expedition destined to discover

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 57, excerpt. I.

to the Greeks the north-west of Europe. On his return from this expedition, Pytheas wrote a detailed account of his voyage, which is known to us only in the quotations of later writers. The date of its publication may be fixed approximately from the fact that, while unknown to Aristotle, it is quoted by his pupil Dicaearchus and seems to have been used by the writer of the Eudemic Ethics. For centuries it remained, with the works of Poseidonius, the chief source of information possessed by the Greeks on the north-west of Europe. The following arrangement of the quotations from Pytheas found in the classic writers gives the probable route of his famous voyage. It is not clear at what point he set out for Thule, nor does it much matter for our present purpose. His voyage to Britain can be reconstructed with tolerable accuracy, but it is difficult to distinguish his account of the island and its inhabitants from that of Poseidonius, which will be found below, and both descriptions should be compared. The visit of Pytheas to the Cimbri is of interest as affording some grounds for believing that the Cimbri spoke a Celtic tongue. The extracts concerning Thule fully establish the accuracy of the account given by Pytheas of his voyage.

The reputation of Pytheas at first stood high; but the Greek romancers seized upon the countries he explored and made them the scenes of absurd wonder-tales. It subsequently became hard to keep the genuine work of Pytheas free from the unfavourable

impressions produced by these stories on serious minds; and when we remember the crude results of the calculations of distances—due to the imperfect methods in vogue at the time of Pytheas—we are prepared for the unfavourable criticisms of Strabo, Polybius, and other writers. In an appendix to this section we indicate where the best known of these romances may be read, but they are of no historical value. Recent writers have re-established the reputation of the 'philosopher of Marseilles,' and the following list includes the best works on his travels:

Aout: *Étude sur Pytheas.* Paris, 1866.

Arbois de Jubainville (H. d'): *Sur les origines de l'ambre, Phaéton, l'Eridan, les Ligures et les Celtes* (*Bulletin de la Soc. nat. des Antiq. de France.* Paris, 1876), also *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe.* Paris, 1889–1892.

Arvedson: *Pytheae Massiliensis Fragmenta.* Upsala, 1824. A very important contribution.

Belloguet: *Ethnogénie gauloise ou mémoires critiques sur l'origine et la parenté des Cimmériens, des Cimbres, des Ombres, &c.* Paris, 1861–1873.

Berger, Hugo: *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes.* Teubner, 1880. Argues in favour of identification of Thule with Norway.

Bessell, W.: *Ueber Pytheas von Massilien.* Göttingen, 1858.

Bougainville: *Acad. des Inscrip.* xix.

Boudard: *Note sur la géographie ancienne de l'Espagne, Revue Archéologique,* xiv. Paris, 1858.

Cluver: *Germania antiqua.*

Contzen, Leopold: *Die Wanderungen der Kelten.* Leipzig, 1861.

Davis, Dr. N.: *Karthago und seine Überreste.* Leipzig, 1863.

Desjardins, Ernest: *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule Romaine.* Paris, 1876–1885. Of high authority.

Diefenbach, Lorenz: *Origines Europaeae.—Die alten Völker Europas mit ihren Sippen und Nachbarn.* Frankfurt am Main, 1861.

Elton: *Origins of English History,* 2nd ed. London, 1890.

Foss: 'Die Insel Thule.' In *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen,* herausgegeben von W. J. C. Mützell: xv. (1861).

Fuhr: *De Pythea Massiliensi dissertatio.* Darmstadii, 1835. *Pytheas aus Massilia.* 1842.

Häbler, Albin: *Die Nord- und Westküste Hispaniens.* Leipzig, 1885–1886.

Hawkins: *The Tin Trade of the Ancients.*

Heeren: *Essays on the Commerce of the Ancients.*

Humboldt: *Cosmos* (Sabine), vol. i.

I. Πρότερον μὲν οὖν Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἔστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων κρύπτοντες ἅπασι τὸν πλοῦν· τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπακολουθούντων ναυκλήρῳ τινί, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ γνοῖεν τὰ ἐμπόρια, φθόνῳ ὁ ναύκληρος ἑκὼν εἰς τέναγος ἐξέβαλε τὴν ναῦν, ἐπαγαγὼν δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄλεθρον καὶ

Kenrick: *Phœnicia.*

Lelewel, Joachim: *Pytheas und die Geographie seiner Zeit.* Berlin, 1831; Paris (French translation), 1836. A very valuable contribution.

Mannert: *Géographie.* Valuable.

Meltzer, Otto: *Geschichte der Karthager.* Berlin, 1879.

Müller, Carl: *Geographi Graeci Minores.* Paris, 1855–1861.

Pontanus et Ramus: *On Northern Europe.*

Redslobs: *Thule.* Leipzig, 1855.

Robert: *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum reliquiæ.* Berolini, 1878.

Rubeck: *Atlantica,* i.

Schulz: *Descripcion Geognostica di Galicia.*

Smith, George: *The Cassiterides.* London (Longmans), 1863.

Ukert, Fr. Aug.: *Geographie der Griechen und Römer von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf Ptolemäus, mit Charten.* 1843–1846. Very exhaustive.

Werlauff: *Ravhaudel's Historie.*

Ziegler, Alexander: *Die Reise des Pytheas nach Thule.* Dresden, 1861.

Dangers of expeditions directed against Carthaginian trade.

I. Formerly the Phoenicians had a monopoly of the trade (*from Britain*) to Cadiz. They guarded the secret of the passage from all strangers; and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster in an attempt to discover the market, the jealous shipmaster deliberately ran his vessel on a shoal, and brought on

τοὺς ἑπομένους αὐτὸς ἐσώθη διὰ ναυαγίου, καὶ ἀπέλαβε δημοσίᾳ τὴν τιμὴν ὧν ἀπέβαλε φορτίων.

(Strabo, iii. c. 5, § 11.)

II. Καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὴν συνεχῆ τῇ Κάλπῃ Ταρτησσίδα καλεῖσθαί φησι καὶ Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον εὐδαίμονα. πρὸς ὃν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀντιλέγων καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῶς λέγεσθαί φησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀκρωτήριον διάστημα ἀπέχειν ἡμερῶν πέντε πλοῦν,[1] οὐ πλειόνων ὄντων ἢ χιλίων καὶ ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων, καὶ τὸ τὰς ἀμπώτεις μέχρι δεῦρο περατοῦσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην συμβαίνειν,[2] καὶ τὸ τὰ προσαρκτικὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰβήριας εὐπαροδώτερα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἢ κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν πλέουσι, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα εἴρηκε Πυθέᾳ πιστεύσας.

(Strabo, iii. c. 2, § 11.)

III. Ὀσίσμιοι δ' εἰσίν, οὓς [Ὦσ]τιμίους[3] ὀνομάξει Πυθέας, ἐπί τινος προπεπτωκυίας ἱκανῶς ἄκρας εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν οἰκοῦντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος φησι καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐκείνῳ.

(Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 1.)

those who were tracking him a similar disaster. He himself got away on some timber from the ship, and was indemnified by the state for the cargo he had lost.

Pytheas takes five days to sail from Cadiz to Cape St. Vincent.

II. Eratosthenes writes also that the neighbourhood of the rock of Gibraltar was known as Tartessis, and also Erythia, which may be translated as the Fortunate Island. Artemidorus denies this and writes it down as false, like his other statements; such as, that Cape St. Vincent is five [1] days' sail from Cadiz, when as a matter of fact they are only about one hundred and seventy miles apart: likewise that the current ceases at Cape St. Vincent, whereas it flows round the whole habitable earth: [2] and, too, that it is easier to pass from the northern parts of Iberia into Keltica, than to proceed by sea; and many other things which he asserts on the authority of that charlatan, Pytheas.

He reaches Cape Finisterre.

III. The Osismii are the people whom Pytheas calls Ostimii; [3] they dwell on a promontory which projects into the ocean to a considerable distance, but not as far as Pytheas and those who follow him assert.

[1] *Vide* Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2nd edit. i. pp. 368–370.

[2] The ancients thought that a strong swift river ran round the earth; Pytheas correctly notes the strong south-eastward current which commences at the harbour of Cadiz. *Vide* Müllenhoff, *idem*, p. 370.

[3] In later texts *Ossisni* and *Osismi*; *vide* Bessell, *Pytheas*, pp. 87–88. Müller and Dübner, edition of Strabo, p. 945, col. 1. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2nd edit. i. pp. 373–375. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, ii. col. 885–886. On the identification of their territory with Cape Finisterre, *vide* La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, i. pp. 67, 101–112.

IV. Δεῖν δὲ ἔτι προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐκτὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν κύρτωμα τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀντικείμενον μὲν τοῖς Ἴβηρσι προπεπτωκὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν, οὐκ ἔλαττον σταδίων τρισχιλίων, καὶ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὠστιμίων, ὃ καλεῖται Κάβαιον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τοῦτο νήσους, ὧν τὴν ἐσχάτην Οὐξισάμην φησὶ Πυθέας ἀπέχειν ἡμερῶν τριῶν πλοῦν.

(Strabo, i. c. 4, § 5.)

V. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ φησιν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν οὐ πάνυ πελαγίαν, προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Λίγηρος ποταμοῦ· οἰκεῖν δὲ ταύτην τὰς τῶν Σαμνιτῶν γυναῖκας, Διονύσῳ κατεχομένας καὶ ἱλασκομένας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον τελεταῖς τε καὶ ἄλλαις ἱεροποιίαις ἐξηλλαγμέναις. οὐκ ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νήσου, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτὰς πλεούσας κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιέναι. ἔθος δ' εἶναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποστεγάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως, ἑκάστης φορτίον ἐπιφερούσης· ἧς δ' ἂν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ φορτίον, διασπᾶσθαι ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων· φερούσας δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετ' εὐασμοῦ μὴ πάνεσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν παύσωνται τῆς λύττης· ἀεὶ δὲ συμβαίνειν ὥστε τινὰ εμπίπτειν τὴν τοῦτο πεισομένην.

(Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 6.)

VI. Τούτου δ' ἔτι μυθωδέστερον εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος τὸ περὶ τοὺς κόρακας συμβαῖνον. λιμένα γάρ τινα τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος ἱστορεῖ δύο κοράκων ἐπονομαζόμενον, φαίνεσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῳ δύο κόρακας τὴν δεξιὰν πτέρυγα παράλευκον

He reaches the isle of Ushant.

IV. To these must be added the curvature of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar), fronting the Iberians, and running west, not less than three hundred nautical miles, and the headlands, including that of the Ostimii, named Cabaion. We should add also the neighbouring island, the furthest of which is known as Uxisama, and (according to Pytheas) distant three days' sail.

Visits two islands. Strange rites in some of these islands.

V. They say that there is in the ocean, not far from the coast, a small island opposite the mouth of the Loire, which is inhabited by Samnite women. These practise Bacchic rites, and court the favour of the gods by ritual sacrifices. On that island no man must venture ; and when the women desire their intercourse, they cross the sea, and, after obtaining it, return again. It is their custom completely to unroof their temple every year, and to re-roof it the same day before sunset. Each woman brings some of the materials, and if any one lets fall her load, she is rent asunder by the others, and her limbs carried round the temple with wild shouts, which are kept up till their fury exhausts itself. It is said that on every occasion some one drops her burden, and is thus sacrificed.

VI. What Artemidorus states concerning the crows is not easily believed. He narrates that on the ocean there is a harbour named the Port of Two Crows, where two white-winged crows may be seen. Disputants resort thither, and each party places a plank covered with crumbs on a lofty eminence. The birds fly to these

ἔχοντας· τοὺς οὖν περί τινων ἀμφισβητοῦντας, ἀφικομένους δεῦρο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τόπου σανίδα θέντας ἐπιβάλλειν ψαιστά, ἑκάτερον χωρίς· τοὺς δ' ὄρνεις ἐπιπτάντας τὰ μὲν ἐσθίειν τὰ δὲ σκορπίζειν· οὗ δ' ἂν σκορπισθῇ τὰ ψαιστά, ἐκεῖνον νικᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μυθωδέστερα λέγει, περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης πιστότερα, ὅτι φησὶν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βρεττανικῇ, καθ' ἣν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμητρα καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται.

(Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 6.)

VII. [*Insulae*] in Celticis aliquot sunt, quas, quia plumbo abundant, uno omnes nomine Cassiteridas appellant. Sena in Britannico mari, Osismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cujus antistites perpetua virginitate sanctae, numero novem esse traduntur: Galli Senas [1] vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus praeditas; maria ac ventos concitare carminibus; seque in quae velint animalia vertere; sanare, quae apud alios insanabilia sunt; scire ventura et praedicare.[2]

(Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, iii. c. 6.)

[1] v. l. *Gallicenas, Barrigenas, Vaticanas, Gallizenas.*

[2] This, and the other stories about the rites practised on the isles around Britain, must be rejected as fabulous. Vide *Revue Celtique*, ix. p. 279, x. p. 352. S. Reinach: *Cultes, mythes et religions*, t. 1, pp. 195 *et seq.* It has been generally remarked that Diodorus Siculus, Hecataeus (Abderus), and other compilers nearly always make an island the scene of their fables, and this has suggested the influence of some lost Greek romance *περὶ νήσων*. Here Mela speaks guardedly, *traduntur*. M. Salomon Reinach suggests the description of the isle of Ea (Odyssey X) as the prototype of Sena. There Circe, with her nymphs, can command the winds, change men to the shape of beasts, and knows the future, exactly as the virgins on Sena. The Greek geographers were anxious to identify the isle of Ea, and Claudian

planks, eat up the crumbs of one and scatter those of the other. He whose crumbs are scattered loses his suit. But this story is too evidently a fiction. What he affirms concerning Ceres and Proserpine is more probable. There is an island, he says, near Britain in which sacrifices to these goddesses are performed in the same way as in Samothrace.

VII. There are some islands in the Celtic regions which are known universally by the name Cassiterides on account of their richness in lead. There is in the British sea an island called Sena, opposite to the shores of the Osismii and famed for its oracle of a Gallic god. It is said that the oracle has nine priestesses who are bound by a vow of perpetual chastity: that the Gauls call them Senae,[1] and believe them to be gifted with remarkable intelligence: that they can raise up the waves of the sea and the winds with their songs; that they can assume the shape of any animal they choose; that they can cure complaints that to others are incurable; and that they know and predict the future.[2]

writes that the island on which Ulysses met Circe is in the extremity of Armorica.

> Est locus, extremum qua Gallia litus
> Oceani perfusus aquis, ubi fertur Ulysses . . .
> (*In Ruf.* i. 123.)

We find that the virgins of Sena correspond to Circe and her nymphs, and the island of Sena is like Ea (accepting Claudian's geography) off Armorica. Further, it is remarkable that no other text mentions priestesses among the Gauls, while in the descriptions of the Germans (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 21, and i. 50; Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 61; *Germania*, 8), who are always implicitly, if not explicitly, contrasted with the Gauls, the priestesses are always mentioned.

VIII. τὸ μὲν ἐλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διεστηκὸς ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλοῦσι Κάντιον, [ὃ] φασὶν ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίους ὡς ἑκατόν, καθ' ὃν τόπον ἡ θάλασσα ποιεῖται τὸν ἔκρουν· τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀκρωτήριον, τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον, ἀπέχειν λέγεται τῆς ἠπείρου πλοῦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων.[1]

(Diodorus Siculus, v. c. 21.)

IX. ὁ δὲ πλειόνων ἢ δισμυρίων τὸ μῆκος ἀποφαίνει τῆς νήσου, καὶ τὸ Κάντιον ἡμερῶν τινων πλοῦν ἀπέχειν τῆς Κελτικῆς φησι·

(Strabo, i. c. 4, § 3.)

X. ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν[3] ἔμβατον[2] ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλειόνων ἢ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νήσου.

(Strabo, ii. c. 4, § 1.)

XI. Πρὸς μέντοι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίαν ἱκανῶς δόξει κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι . . . τοὺς τῇ κατεψυγμένῃ ζώνῃ πλησιάζουσι τὸ τῶν καρπῶν εἶναι τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ζῴων τῶν μὲν ἀφορίαν παντελῆ τῶν δὲ σπάνιν, κέγχρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγρίοις λαχάνοις καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ῥίζαις τρέφεσθαι· παρ' οἷς δὲ σῖτος καὶ μέλι γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν· τὸν δὲ σῖτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἡλίους οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαρούς, ἐν οἴκοις μεγάλοις κόπτουσι, συγκομισθέντων δεῦρο τῶν σταχύων· αἱ γὰρ ἅλως ἄχρηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνήλιον καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους.

(Strabo, iv. c. 5, § 5.)

[1] *Vide* Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2nd edit. i. pp. 375–377.

[2] The reading ἐμβαδὸν, 'on foot,' was probably a mistake for ἔμβατον, 'accessible parts,' as Elton points out (*Origins of Eng. Hist.* p. 27 note).

He reaches Land's End.

VIII. The name Cantium is given to the promontory nearest the continent, from which it is distant about ten nautical miles at the shortest passage; the other promontory is called Belerion (Land's End) and is distant four days' sail.[1]

Then sails to Kent.

IX. But Pytheas tells us the island [of Britain] is more than two thousand nautical miles in length, and that Kent is some days' sail from France.

Travels extensively in Britain.

X. It is this last writer (Pytheas) who asserts that he travelled all over the accessible [2] parts of Britain,[3] and that the island is over four thousand nautical miles in circumference.

His description of Southern Britain.

XI. Nevertheless, as far as astronomy and mathematics are concerned, he seems to have used these sciences very well; holding that people bordering on the Arctic Circle would not enjoy cultivated fruits; that they would enjoy an abundance of domestic animals, but few others; that their food would consist of millet, vegetables, and fruit and the roots of plants; and that of corn and honey they make a drink; that having no bright sun, they thresh their corn, and store it in vast granaries, for, on account of the rain and want of sun, threshing-floors are of little use to them.

[3] Pytheas first mentions the name Britain. *Vide* Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 2nd edit. p. 207.

XII. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod se nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere sed transire adfirmant.

(Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 12.)

XIII. *τὸ δ' ὑπολειπόμενον ἀνήκειν μὲν ἱστοροῦσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ Ὄρκαν. τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν τὴν μὲν ἐλαχιστην εἶναι σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, παρήκουσαν παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνήκουσαν, σταδίων μυρίων πεντακισχιλιων· τὴν δὲ λοιπήν, σταδίων δισμυρων· ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν εἶναι τῆς νήσου περιφοράν σταδίων τετρακισμυρίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων.*

(Diodorus Siculus, v. c. 21.)

XIV. *εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν δια Θούλης (ἣν φησι Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἓξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης) ἄλλους ὡς μυρίους χιλίους πεντακοσίους.*

(Strabo, i. c. 4, § 2.)

XV. Thile[1] ultima in qua aestivo solstitio, sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum, nox nulla. Brumali solstitio, perinde nullus dies. Trigesimus nunc annus est a quo nuntiaverunt mihi clerici qui a Kal. Febr. usque Kal. August. in illa insula

[1] Iceland is the probable identification of Thule. The works on Pytheas at the beginning of this chapter may be consulted on this controversy.

XII. The days are longer than in our southern regions; the nights are lightsome, and, in the northern parts of Britain, so very short, that the interval between the last gleam of day and the returning dawn is scarcely perceptible. When no clouds intervene, they assert that the sun is seen all night long, neither setting nor rising, but always passing above the horizon. Of Northern Britain.

XIII. The last headland is named Orcas, and, according to the historians, juts out into the middle of the sea. The shortest side of the island is parallel to the continent of Europe, and is seven hundred and fifty nautical miles in length: the second side, from the strait to the apex of the triangle, measures fifteen hundred, and the third side two thousand nautical miles. Thus the whole island is four thousand two hundred and fifty nautical miles in circumference. Pytheas sails north to Dunnet Head.

XIV. [From the meridian of Meroë] to the parallel of Thule, which Pytheas says is six days' sail north from Britain and near the Frozen Sea, is a distance of about three thousand eight hundred nautical miles. Sails to Thule in six days.

XV. In far distant Thule [1] at the summer solstice when the sun enters the Constellation of Cancer there is no night, and at the winter solstice there is no day. It is now thirty years since this was related to me by some clerics who had lived on that island from the first of February till the first of August. They also Thule identified with Iceland in A.D. 825 by the Irish monk Dicuil.

manserunt, quod non solum in aestivo solstitio, sed in diebus circa illud, in vespertina hora sol abscondit se quasi trans parvum tumulum, ita ut nihil tenebrarum in minimo spatio ipso fiat. . . . In medio illius minimi temporis medium noctis fit in medio orbis terrae; et idcirco mentientes falluntur qui circum eam concretum fore mare scripserunt, et qui a vernali aequinoctio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte atque ab autumnali versa vice usque ad vernale aequinoctium assiduam quidem noctem, dum illi navigantes in naturali tempore magni frigoris eam intrabant ac manentes in ipsa dies noctesque semper praeter solstitii tempus alternatim habebant: sed navigatione minus diei ex illa ad Boream congelatum mare invenerunt.

(Dicuil, *de Mensura Orbis*, c. 29.)

XVI. Dicitur autem nox eis fieri usque ad unam horam apud quos arcticus est aestivus tropicus; sicut juxta Thylen insulam scribunt per diem et noctem solem super terram ferri: eos enim qui dicunt semenstrem diem noctemque aequalem, aut etiam quaedam borealium partium nunquam illuminari solaribus radiis, rationibus aliis demittimus.

(Priscianus Lydus, *Solut. ad Chosroen.* (Bywater), 67.)

XVII. *Περὶ τὴν Θούλην καλουμένην νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθέαν τὸν Μασσαλιώτην φιλόσοφον, ὅλον τὸν θερινὸν*

informed me that, not only at the summer solstice, but also during the days before and after that season, the sun at evening hides as it were beyond a small hill, but in such a way that there is no darkness even over the smallest space. In the middle of this short space of time it is midnight at the equator; and consequently these story-tellers are mistaken who have written that round Thule the sea is frozen; and so also are they who write that from the spring equinox to the autumnal there is continuous day, and on the other hand from the autumnal to the spring equinox there is again continuous night. Those who sailed to and stopped at this island in the season of intense cold found alternate day and night during their stay, except at the time of the solstice; but they found the sea frozen at less than one day's sail northwards.

His description of Thule.

XVI. Those who live on the arctic tropic (= here, arctic circle) have night lasting up to one hour; just as they write that near Thule the sun goes round the earth without setting day or night. As to those who tell us that there is a day lasting six months and a night of the same length, or, that certain northern lands are never illuminated by the rays of the sun, well, we will dismiss these writers for other reasons.

XVII. Concerning the island of Thule, which is said to have been visited by Pytheas the philosopher of Marseilles, a story is told to the effect that the summer sun is above the earth the whole day and coincides

ὑπὲρ γῆς εἶναι λόγος, αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρκτικὸν εἶναι.[1] Παρὰ τούτοις, ὁπόταν ἐν καρκίνῳ ὁ ἥλιος ᾖ, μηνιαῖα γίνεται ἡ ἡμέρα, εἴ γε καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα τοῦ καρκίνου ἀειφανῆ ἐστί παρ' αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἀειφανέσιν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἥλιος ἐστὶ.

(Cleomedes, *Cycl. Theor.* i. c. 7.)

XVIII. Φησὶ γοῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ πεπραγματευμένοις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐδείκνυον ἡμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος κοιμᾶται.[2] Συνέβαινε γὰρ περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους τὴν μὲν νύκτα παντελῶς μικρὰν γένεσθαι ὥρων οἷς μὲν β' οἷς δὲ γ' ὥστε μετὰ τὴν δύσιν μικροῦ διαλείμματος γενομένου ἐπανατέλλειν εὐθέως τὸν ἥλιον.

(Geminius, *Elem. Astron.* v. c. 22.)

XIX. Ὁ παράλληλος ἀπέχει τοῦ ἰσημερίνου μοιρῶν ξγ' καὶ γράφεται διὰ Θούλης τῆς νήσου· πρῶτος δ' ἔστιν οὗτος τῶν περισκίων . . . καί ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν θερινὸς τροπικὸς ἀεὶ φανερός.

(Ptolemy, *Magna Constructio*, 2.)

XX. Οἷαν φέρει που καὶ Στράβων τὸν Πυθέαν
Θούλην διαγράφοντα τὴν νῆσον λέγειν,
Γῆν ἀέρα θάλασσαν οὐ πεφυκέναι,
Ἐοικέναι δὲ πλεύμονι θαλασσίῳ.
Ὁποῖα δεσμῷ τῶν ὅλων ὑπηργμένῳ,
Μήτ' οὖν πορευτῷ, μήτε πλωτῷ τὴν φύσιν.

(Tzetzes.)

XXI. Thule Belgarum litori opposita est, Graiis et nostris celebrata carminibus. In ea, quod ibi sol longe occasurus exsurgit, breves utique noctes sunt: sed per hiemem, sicut aliubi, obscurae; aestate lucidae, quod per id tempus jam se altius evehens,

[1] This crude mistake is due to the notion that the tropic of Cancer was a physical line traced by the sun's passage over the horizon.

with the arctic circle.[1] Further, when the sun is in Cancer the day lasts for a month, provided all the portions of Cancer are constantly visible: otherwise only so far as the sun is in the constantly visible parts.

XVIII. [*Pytheas*] says, in his treatise on the Ocean, that the Barbarians used to point out to him where the sun sleeps.[2] About these regions they observed that the night grew shorter, in some places lasting two hours, in others three hours, so that after sunset the sun rose again immediately.

XIX. This parallel is 63° from the line of the equinox and passes through the island Thule, and this is the first point at which a man's shadow falls on all sides of him. There the summer tropic is always visible.

XX. Thus, according to Strabo, Pytheas describes the island of Thule, and says that no land, no sea, no air exist there, but the three combined there are like the marine jelly-fish. Surrounded as it were with a chain of all three, it is in its nature impassable on foot or by means of a boat.

XXI. Thule, renowned among the Greeks and in our own verses, lies opposite the coast of the Belgi. In this isle the risen sun tarries long before it sets, and the nights are accordingly short. As elsewhere, they are dark in winter and bright in summer, for at this season the sun rises higher, and although not actually

[2] This must mean that the Barbarians had observed the spot where the sun disappeared behind the horizon during the short summer nights. This would naturally be taken by them, *and by Pytheas*, to be the resting-place of the moving sun-god.

quanquam ipse non cernatur, vicino tamen splendore proxima illustrat; per solstitium vero nullae, quod tum jam manifestior non fulgore modo, sed sui quoque partem maximam ostentat.

(Pomponius Mela, *de Situ Orbis*, iii. c. 6.)

XXII. Sic fit ut, vario lucis incremento, in Meroë longissimus dies XII horas aequinoctiales et octo partes unius horae colligat: Alexandriae vero XIV horas: in Italia XV: in Britannia XVII. Ubi aestate lucidae noctes, haud dubie repromittunt id quod cogit ratio credi; solstitii diebus accendente Sole propius verticem mundi, angusto lucis ambitu, subjecta terrae continuos dies habere senis mensibus; noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto. Quod fieri in insula Thule Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britannia distante.

(Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.* ii. c. 77.)

XXIII. Omnes autem aestus in Oceano majora integunt spatia inundantque, quam in reliquo mari. . . . Octogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere aestus Pytheas Massiliensis auctor est.

(*Idem*, ii. c. 99.)

XXIV. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus jussum, et hiems appetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus; perhibent ne ventis quidem proinde attolli; credo, quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam

visible, yet its close brilliancy illuminates the nearest parts. At the solstice there are no nights, for at that period the sun not only shines more distinctly, but also displays the greater part of its orb.

XXII. It thus happens that through the varying increase in the duration of the daylight, the longest day at Meroë is comprised of twelve equinoctial hours and eight parts of an hour; at Alexandria there are fourteen hours; in Italy, fifteen; in Britain, seventeen. Where the nights are bright in summer, they no doubt avow that which reason compels us to believe, viz. that as the sun at the solstice ascends nearer to the pole, going round in a small zone of light, the parts of the earth beneath have continuous day for six months; and in winter the night is of the same duration. Pytheas relates that this occurs on the island of Thule, which is six days' sail northward from Britain.

XXIII. The flows of the tides in the Ocean all cover a greater part of the land than do those of the other sea (Mediterranean). Pytheas of Marseilles says that beyond Britain the tides flow in to a distance of eighty cubits.

XXIV. Thule was seen (by Agricola's fleet), which up to this had lain concealed in winter. Here the sea is said to be sluggish and unyielding to the oar, and never stirred by the breezes. Perhaps the cause of this is the rarity in these regions of the heights and mountains which cause the motions in the air, and also the difficulty of disturbing so vast a mass of water. We

Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

(Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 10.)

XXV. Multae et aliae circum Britanniam insulae e quibus Thyle ultima, in qua aestivo solstitio, sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum, nox paene nulla: brumali solstitio dies adeo conductus, ut ortus junctus sit occasui. A Caledoniae promontorio Thylen petentibus bidui navigatione perfecta excipiunt Hebudes insulae, quinque numero, quarum incolae nesciunt fruges: piscibus tantum et lacte vivunt. Rex unus est universis: nam, quotquot sunt, omnes angusta interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet, omnia universorum: ad aequitatem certis legibus stringitur: ac ne avaritia divertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris: verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur femina propria, sed per vicissitudines, in quamcumque commotus sit, usurariam sumit. Unde ei nec votum,

are not concerned here with any inquiry into the Ocean and its tides ; others have employed themselves on this. I shall add just one observation, that nowhere else does the sea enjoy such power, for here it at one moment receives the waters of many rivers, and at the next forces them back again to their sources ; for it is not on the coast only that the action of the tides is perceptible : the sea forces itself into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the heart of the land, and raging supreme 'mid hills and mountains as if they were its natural home.

Pytheas visits islands north of Scotland.

XXV. Of the many islands round about Britain Thule is the most remote. Here at the summer solstice when the sun is passing out of Cancer there is scarcely any night ; while at the winter solstice the days are so shortened that the rising and the setting of the sun are almost simultaneous. A two days' sail from the Caledonian promontory in the direction of Thule brings you to the five islands of the Hebrides. Their inhabitants are unacquainted with the cultivated fruits of the earth, and live solely on fish and milk. One king holds sway over them all, for they are divided by only a narrow strait. All property being public, the king has nought of his own. In the administration of justice he is bound by strict laws. And lest avarice should turn him aside from truth, he learns justice from poverty, for he has no private property, but is otherwise provided for from the public funds. He has no wife of his own, but whatever woman attracts his fancy becomes for the

nec spes conceditur liberorum. Secundam a continenti stationem Orcades praebent: sed Orcades ab Hebudibus porro sunt septem dierum totidemque noctium cursu, numero tres. Vacant homine; non habent silvas: tantum junceis herbis inhorrescunt. Cetera earum nudae arenae. Ab Orcadibus Thylen usque quinque dierum ac noctium navigatio est. Sed Thyle larga et diutina pomona copiosa est. Qui illic habitant, principio veris inter pecudes pabalis vivunt, dein lacte. In hiemem compercunt arborum fructus. Utuntur feminis vulgo; certum matrimonium nulli. Ultra Thylen pigrum et concretum mare. Circuitus Britanniae 4875 millia passuum sunt. In quo spatio magna et multa flumina: quibus fontibus praesul Minervae [v.l. praeest Sul-Minervae] numen, in cujus aede perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos.[1]

(C. Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor.* c. 22.)

XXVI. Itaque ea, quae fertilissima sunt, Germaniae loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant) Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt, atque ibi consederunt. Quae gens ad hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet. . . . Hujus Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum

[1] It seems difficult to avoid concluding that these natives used turf-fuel.

time his; thus neither the desire nor the hope of children is allowed to him. The second calling-point from the continent of Britain is the Orkney Islands. These are a sail of seven days and seven nights beyond the Hebrides, and are three in number. They are uninhabited and woodless. They bristle with a rushlike grass where they are not barren sands. Thule lies from them a voyage of five days and nights. Here, however, is an abundant and continuous supply of fruit. The inhabitants in the early part of spring live among the cattle on fodder; in the later part of the year they live on milk. For the winter season they lay in a store of the fruits of the trees. They have their women in common, and know no established marriage customs. Beyond Thule is a sluggish and frozen sea.

The entire circuit of Britain is four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five miles. This area contains many fine rivers. The presiding divinity is Minerva, in whose temple are perpetual fires that never brighten into sparks: when the fire is growing dull it turns into stony brocks.[1]

Pytheas visits north-west of Europe. Amber trade.

XXVI. Accordingly, the Volcae Tectosages seized on the most productive districts of Germania, which are those around the Hercynian forest, and settled there. This forest was known by report to Eratosthenes and to other Greeks under the name Orcynia. The Volcae Tectosages retain their territories to our time. . . . The breadth of the Hercynian forest mentioned above is nine days' journey to a

The Hercynian forest.

iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt . . . multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem adtingit; neque quisquam est hujus Germaniae, qui se aut adisse ad initium ejus silvae dicat, cum dierum iter sexaginta processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur acceperit.[1]

(Cæsaris, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. c. 24–25.)

XXVII. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris[2] vocari, hoc est, mortuum mare, usque ad promontorium Rubeas; ultra deinde Cronium.[3] Xenophon Lampsacenus, a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Baltiam, tradit. Eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat.[4]

(Plinius Secundus, *His. Nat.* iv. c. 27.)

XXVIII. Τῆς Σκυθίας τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν Γαλατίαν καταντικρὺ νῆσός ἐστι πελαγία κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἡ προσαγορευομένη Βασίλεια. Εἰς ταύτην ὁ κλύδων ἐκβάλλει δαψιλὲς τὸ καλούμενον ἤλεκτρον, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης φαινόμενον.

(Diodorus Siculus, v. c. 23.)

XXIX. Διόπερ οὔτ' ἔι τις ὑπομένοι τὰ φοβερὰ δι' ἄγνοιαν, ἀνδρεῖος, οἷον εἴ τις τοὺς κεραυνοὺς ὑπομένοι φερομένους διὰ μανίαν, οὔτ' εἰ γιγνώσκων ὅσος ὁ κίνδυνος, διὰ θυμόν, οἷον οἱ Κελτοὶ πρὸς τὰ κύματα ὅπλα ἀπαντῶσι λαβόντες, καὶ ὅλως ἡ βαρβαρικὴ ἀνδρεία μετὰ θυμοῦ ἐστιν.

(Pseudo Arist. *Ethica Eudemia*, iii. c. 1, § 25.)

[1] *Vide* Cluver's *Germania Antiqua*, iii. c. 47.

[2] Cf. Prof. Rawlinson, *Ethnology of the Cimbri, Proc. Anthrop. Inst.* vi. 151 (1876); Latham, *Germany of Tacitus*; Pallman, *Kimbern und Teutoner*; Ridgeway, *Cambridge Philological Society*, 20 Feb. 1908, *Rev. Celt.* xxix. 215; J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.* xxx. p. 384.

[3] Welsh, '*Mor marwth*' = *sea of death*, and '*Mor croinn*' = *frozen sea*.

[4] For Greek trade with Courland *vide* Humboldt, *Cosmos* (*Sabine*), ii. 128. Diodorus in next excerpt. probably confused Abalus and Basilia; see article by Ihm in Paulys, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2nd edit. iii. col. 42, 43.

traveller travelling with all speed. There is no other way of computing it, as the natives are unacquainted with the road measures . . . so extensive is it that it touches the frontiers of many nations. There is no one in these parts of Germania who claims to have reached its end,—even after a journey of sixty days,—nor indeed to have heard at what spot it begins.[1]

Visits the Cimbri.

XXVII. Philemon says that the Cimbri[2] call the sea from their own country to Cape Rubeae, Morimarusa or the Dead Sea; beyond that cape they call it 'Cronium.'[3] Xenophon of Lampsacenus states that there is an island, Baltia, of vast extent, a distance of three days' sail from the Scythian shore. Pytheas calls the island Basilia.[4]

XXVIII. In the Scythian region beyond Gaul is the sea-girt isle Basilia; and on this island, and nowhere else in the world, the amber is washed up in large quantities in the springtime: the natives collect it on the island and carry it across to the mainland opposite.[4]

Stories about the Cimbri.

XXIX. So neither is the man brave who calmly faces objects of terror through ignorance, as when one through madness defies the thunderbolts; or, knowing the danger, through spirit and stout-heartedness, as the Celts who take up arms to resist the waves of the sea; and in general we may say that the barbaric bravery consists in stout-heartedness.

XXX. Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνιοί φασιν ἀπὸ Βαρβάρων ὄρξαι. Γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσαις Μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἢ Ἀσσυρίοις Χαλδαίους, καὶ Γυμνοσοφιστάς παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς· παρά τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυΐδας καὶ Σεμνοθέους· καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς.

(Diog. Laer. i. 1.)

XXXI. Γέρμαρα : Κελτικῆς ἔθνος, ὃ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπει, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ θαυμασίων· τοὺς δὲ Λωτοφάγους καθεύδειν ἑξάμηνον. (Steph. Byz.)

(Pseudo Aristotle, Frag. No. 564 (Bekker's edition).)

XXXII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μασσαλιώτης Πυθέας τὰ περὶ Θούλην τὴν βορειοτάτην τῶν Βρεττανίδων ὕστατα λέγει, παρ' οἷς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ ἀρκτικῷ ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς κύκλος· παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἱστορῶ οὔθ' ὅτι Θούλη νῆσός ἐστί τις οὔτ' εἰ τὰ μέχρι δεῦρο οἰκήσιμά ἐστιν, ὅπου ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς ἀρκτικὸς γίνεται. νομίζω δὲ πολὺ εἶναι νοτιώτερον τοῦτο τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πέρας τὸ προσάρκτιον· οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἱστοροῦντες περαιτέρω τῆς Ἰέρνης οὐδὲν ἔχουσι λέγειν, ἢ πρὸς ἄρκτον πρόκειται τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πλησίον, ἀγρίων τελέως ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακῶς οἰκούντων διὰ ψῦχος, ὥστ' ἐνταῦθα νομίζω τὸ πέρας εἶναι θετέον. . . . πανταχοῦ δὲ παρακρουόμενος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Πυθέας κἀνταῦθά που διέψευσται.[1]

(Strabo, ii. c. 5, § 8.)

[1] For the criticism of Polybius on Pytheas *vide* Polybius, excerpt. LXXX.

Pytheas and the Druids.

XXX. Some say that philosophy has originated among the non-Greeks, for among the Persians there were Magi, among the Babylonians and Assyrians were Chaldees, and Gymnosophists among the Indians. Among the Celts and Galatians were those called Druids and Semnothei, as is stated by Aristotle in his work on magic, and by Sotion in the 23rd chapter of his 'Continuation.'

XXXI. Germara: A tribe of the Celtic country who do not see the day, as Aristotle says in his work on the Wonders of the World; and that the Lotos-eaters sleep for six months.

Strabo's criticism.

XXXII. It is true that Pytheas of Marseilles affirms that the farthest country north of the British island is Thule; for which place he says the summer tropic and the arctic circle are one and the same. But he gives no other particulars, nor does he say whether Thule is an island, or whether it is habitable up to the point where the summer tropic is identical with the arctic circle. For myself, I fancy the northern boundaries of the habitable earth are very much south of this. Recent writers make mention of nothing beyond Ireland, which is just north of Britain, and where the inhabitants lead a miserable and primitive existence on account of the severe cold. In my opinion the limits of the habitable earth should be fixed here. . . . But the truth is that Pytheas, who so frequently misleads his readers, leads them astray here too.[1]

XXXIII. *προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ' αὑτὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ' ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ σύγκριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἐοικός, ἐν ᾧ φησι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὅλων, μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα.*[1]

(Strabo, ii. c. 4, § 1.)

XXXIV. Quod fabulae locum potissimum dedit, ipsa est Thules historia, quam hodie etiam plerique volunt non esse dictam Islandiam, sed insulam quandam ex Orcadibus, adhaerentes Ptolemaeo, qui eam statuit quatuor gradibus citra Circulum Polarem. Sane vero si nihil terrarum sub eo circulo detectum jam foret, posset Pytheas haberi mendax, referens '*se eo pervenisse, ubi aestivus Tropicus gereret vicem Arctici, hoc est maximi circulorum semper apparentium*': et quia jam etiam navigando pervenitur in Islandiam, ubi Tropicus pro Arctico est; quidni habeamus Pytheae fidem et hanc Thulen esse credamus, quam sic nominatam primus prodidit? Quem ceteri certe supponunt, aut fingunt, situm non habet hujusmodi; et Cleomedes, melius quam Strabo, Thulen reliquit ubi Pytheas collocasse memorabatur.

XXXIII. [*Pytheas*] describes Thule and its neighbourhood, where, according to his account, there is neither earth, water, nor air, in a separate state, but a kind of mixture of all three, resembling a jelly-fish, in which earth, water, and air and all things are mixed, thus, as it were, uniting them all together. One cannot travel over it, nor sail through it. He affirms he saw this substance with his own eyes, the other details he gives on hearsay.[1]

Gassendi's criticism (A.D. 1592–1655).

XXXIV. The history of Thule has been specially productive of fabulous stories. At the present time many maintain that this is not the island known as Iceland, but one of the Orkneys; and in this they follow Ptolemy, who has placed it four degrees on this side of the polar circle. No doubt Pytheas might be considered a liar if no land had been discovered under the circle, for he asserts that '*he reached this land at the season when the summer tropic was identical with the arctic circle, that is, the greatest circle was constantly visible.*' But considering that we can now reach Iceland by ship, where the tropic takes the place of the arctic circle, why should we refuse to trust Pytheas, or to believe in the existence of Thule, which he was the first to mention by name? The identification suggested and advanced by others has not this condition, and Cleomedes, more accurately than Strabo, has left it where Pytheas is said to have placed it. To prevent anyone from

[1] Probably this substance is the soft rotten ice of the North Sea.

Et ne dubitare quis possit de Pytheae sagacitate et solertia, quasi loca citeriora habere potuerit pro eo in quo dies maximus XXIV foret horarum, verba sunt illius apud Geminum, '*Monstrabant nobis barbari ubi Sol cubaret,* &c.' Quae refero, ut innuam quemadmodum Pytheas eo paulatim pervenerit ubi nulla tandem nox foret in aestivo solstitio, ac simul insinuem, quam grata esse debeat illius memoria qui primus mortalium tam longe processit. At fabulam sapit '*neque terram ibi porro esse, neque mare, neque aerem, sed quidpiam ex iis concretum, pulmonis marini simile, &c.*' Sed nota potius hominis fidem, siquidem dixit solum Pytheas '*se pulmonis formam vidisse, referre autem cetera quasi auditu solo recepta.*' Addit Strabo dixisse '*solum ibi Tropicum pro Arctico esse,*' quod superest autem non commemorasse, neque an insula sit Thule, neque utrum habitationes eo usque pertingant, et alia similia; quae, si voluisset imponere, haud dubie profecto scripsisset . . . alia quoque sunt quae improbat Strabo, ut '*abesse Thulen a Britannia sex dierum navigatione*' (quod Plinius quoque ex Pythea habet), '*Cantium Britanniae a Celtica aliquot,*' et '*Sacrum Promontorium a Gadibus quinque*'; sed nimirum videtur Pytheas conscripsisse totius suae navigationis diarium, commemorasseque quantum temporis inter superandum locorum intervalla consumpsisset. . . . Quomodo

doubting the soundness and scientific knowledge of Pytheas, by imagining that, for the land in which the longest day measures twenty-four hours, he had in mind places situated farther south, we quote his words as found in Geminus, '*The Barbarians showed us where the sun was wont to set. . . .*' I mention this to suggest how Pytheas might step by step have won the point where there was no night at all; and also to suggest how pleasant the recollection must have been to him who was the first human being to penetrate so far. But he knew that it was a fable to say '*that farther on there was no land, nor sea, nor air, but some mixture of all three, like to a jelly-fish, &c.*' Still I would have you notice the candour of the man, for it is only '*the jelly-fish*' he says '*he saw himself, while he states that the rest is mere hearsay.*' Strabo adds that Pytheas states merely that '*there alone the tropic is identical with the arctic circle,*' giving no details as to whether Thule is an island, or as to whether human habitation extends as far as there, or any other information of this kind. If he had desired to impose on people, he would not have failed to furnish all this. Strabo objects also to the other statements, such as, '*that Thule is six days' sail from Britain*' (quoted also by Pliny from Pytheas), '*that Cantium in Britain is a few days' sail from the Celtic shore,*' and '*that Cape St. Vincent is a voyage of five days from Cadiz.*' Pytheas, in fact, appears to have kept a complete diary of his voyage, noting down the time taken by him in covering the distances between the various points, so that it is

proinde non Pytheas diario, sed Hipparchus ducta a se consecutione, deceptus est, cum Pytheae fidem dicitur secutus, asserendo maximum diem in australiore Britannia esse XVIII horarum, ac simili modo Eratosthenes in assignandis Britannicis affinibus. Vocat praeterea ille figmenta, quae Pytheas rettulit de *Ostidamniis*, *Calbio*, *Uxisama*, aliisque locis: et, quasi nunquam possit ipsi non esse ob Thulen infensus, hominem appellat mendacissimum, quod qui viderint Hiberniam non ejusmodi insulae sed aliarum solum parvarum circa Britanniam meminerint. . . . At quonam modo id excusetur, quod ait Pytheas '*se peragrasse quidquid est Europae regionum ad Oceanum ex Gadibus ipsis ad Tanain*[1] *usque*'? Sane, quod potuerit Hispaniae Galliae oc Germaniae oras perlustrare ac fortassis quoque Dania superata penetrare longe ad Balticum Sinum, qui fuit olim Sarmaticus Hyperboreusque creditus Oceanus, creditus complecti Scandiae Insulas, quas nunc esse Noruegiae Sueciaeque continentes constat, nemo inficias ierit. Quod existimaverit autem se '*ad Tanain usque*' pervenisse, Deum immortalem! quam id videtur pro caligine eorum temporum esse excusatione dignum.

(Gassendi, *Proportio Gnomonis Epist.* 2.)

[1] Lelewel in his *Pytheas und die Geographie seiner Zeit* thinks that Pytheas mistook the Elbe for the Tanais or Don.

not Pytheas who is at fault in his diary, but Hipparchus, who, while professing to quote Pytheas, draws his own conclusions, and asserts that the longest day in North Britain contains eighteen hours. In the same way Eratosthenes is at fault in enumerating the neighbours of Britain. Moreover, he argues that the statements of Pytheas concerning the *Ostidamnii*, *Calbium*, and *Uxisama* (Ushant), and other places, are fictitious; and, being unable to overcome his dislike to Pytheas on account of Thule, he calls the man an outrageous liar; and all because the men who had seen Ireland did not relate their impressions of an island of that kind, but only of the other and smaller islands around Britain. But how can we excuse Pytheas when he claims '*to have traversed all Europe to the Ocean, and from Cadiz to the Tanais*'[1]? Of course, no one would deny that he might have coasted along Spain, Gaul and Germany, and, perhaps passing by Denmark, have penetrated far into the Baltic sea, which was anciently believed to be the Sarmatician and Hyperborean ocean, and thought also to surround the Scandinavian islands, which are now known to be the continents of Norway and Sweden. But as to his believing that he reached '*as far as the Don*,' well, considering the ignorance of the time, how just it is to overlook even this!

APPENDIX

GREEK ROMANCES ABOUT NORTHERN EUROPE

Apollonius Rodius, born circa B.C. 260; was a pupil of Callimachus; succeeded Eratosthenes, librarian to Ptolemy Epiphanes, in B.C. 196. Wrote an epic in the style of Homer, known as the *Argonautica*. He has much to say about the island from which the amber came, about the Hyperboreans, and about the mythical river Eridanos. Beyond emphasising the isolation from the classical world of the races who have left behind them the megalithic monuments, the work is of no historical value, and its geographical notions are grotesque. An edition of the *Argonautica* was published in 1905 by Teubner.

Euhemerus, *floruit* circa B.C. 300. Only fragments remain, but the work was popular among Roman writers. He attempted to rationalise the mythology of Greece, and to construct from

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PTOLEMY, SON OF LAGUS

A lieutenant of Alexander the Great. Wrote a History of Alexander's expeditions, which is known to us only in fragments. Died B.C. 283.

I. *Φησὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν συμμῖξαι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Κελτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, φιλίας καὶ ξενίας χάριν, δεξάμενον δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοφρόνως τὸν βασιλέα ἐρέσθαι παρὰ τὸν πότον, τί μάλιστα εἴη, ὃ φοβοῖντο, νομίζοντα αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν· αὐτοὺς δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰ ἄρα μὴ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσοι, φιλίαν γε μὴν ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου περὶ παντὸς τίθεσθαι.*

(Strabo, vii. 3, § 8.)

it the early history of mankind. Diodorus Siculus uses his work largely.

Eustathius of Constantinople, archbishop of Thessalonica (A.D. 1160), wrote a full and learned commentary of the Homeric poems; vide *Iliad*, iii. 6.

Hecataeus of Abdera wrote a novel, Ὑπὲρ τῶν Ὑπερβορείων (*vide* Hecataeus, vol. ii.).

Photius summarises a novel by Antonius Diogenes, named 'Wonders beyond Thule,' in his *Myriol.* 355; see also Porphyrius, *Life of Pythagoras*, c. 13.

Plato: in *Timaeus*, § 6; and in *Critias*, § 3, § 8 *et seq.* (Bekker edit.).

Plutarch uses these romances largely in his *Moralia; de facie in Orbe Lunae.*

Procopius: in his *de Bell. Goth.* iv. c. 22.

Scholia in Virgil's *Georgics.*

Lucian in his *Vera Historia* burlesques these ancient historians, and is worth reading. See also

Elton: *Origins of English History*, chap. iii.

Celts on Adriatic (B.C. 335).

I. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, relates that in this campaign the Celts who dwelt on the Adriatic came to Alexander for the purpose of making a treaty of goodwill and 'guest-friendship,' and that the king received them in a friendly manner, and asked them while drinking, what might be the chief object of their dread, expecting that they would say that he himself was; but that they replied that it was no man, but they felt some alarm lest the sky might perhaps fall on them, but that they valued above everything the friendship of so great a man as he.

II. Ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἴστρῳ, καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως· καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ᾠκισμένων ἦκον· μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονοῦντες· φιλίας δὲ πάντες τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφιέμενοι ἥκειν ἔφασαν. Καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε· τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι μάλιστα δεδίττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα ὄνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω ἥκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι φήσουσι· τῷ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ξυνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις· οἷα γὰρ πόρρω τε ᾠκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁρῶντες, ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι. Καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ὀνομάσας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες Κελτοί εἰσιν.

(Arrian, *Anabasis*, i. 4, § 6.)

III. Κατιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Λιβύων τε πρεσβεῖαι ἐνετύγχανον ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ στεφανούντων ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας βρέττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπρέσβευον. Καὶ Καρχηδονίους τότε πρεσβεῦσαι λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἴβηρας,

Celts on Danube and Ionian Gulf (B.C. 335).

II. Envoys then came to Alexander from all the autonomous tribes bordering on the Danube, and from Syrmos, king of the Triballi: some came also from the Celts dwelling on the Ionian Gulf. These Celts are large of stature and have no small opinion of themselves. One and all declared that they came desiring the friendship of Alexander. Alexander and the Celts thereupon made mutual agreements. He asked them what was it that they stood most in fear of in human affairs, hoping that his own mighty name had reached the Celts and gone even beyond them, and that they would therefore say that they feared him above all else. But the Celts made an unexpected reply, for, settled far away from Alexander in lands difficult of access, and perceiving that Alexander's expedition was destined for other parts, they declared that their only fear was that the sky should fall on them. Having addressed them as friends and made them allies, he dismissed them, and afterwards expressed his opinion that they were braggarts.

B.C. 323.

III. When Alexander entered Babylon embassies met him from the Libyans, extolling him and crowning him with garlands on account of his success in winning the empire of Asia; and from Italy, the Brettii, the Leucani and the Turreni sent an embassy for a similar purpose. It is also stated that the Carthaginians sent an embassy at the same time, and that envoys came from the Ethiopians, the European Scythians, the Celts, and the Iberians, soliciting his friendship.

ὑπὲρ φιλίας δεησομένους· ὧν τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς σκευὰς τότε πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι πρὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Μακεδόνων.[1]

(Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 15, § 4.)

HIERONYMUS OF CARDIA

To Hieronymus of Cardia is almost certainly to be attributed the knowledge we possess of the Galatian incursion into Greece (see J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, ii. 2, p. 342, note 4, and Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Fragmenta*, vol. ii. pp. 450 *et seq.*). He was born between B.C. 370 and 360, and lived for more than a hundred years. From his work, which is sometimes described as a continuation

I. *Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωΐμῳ· παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ῥαχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ·*[2] *καὶ σφίσι διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Ἠριδανὸς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἡλίου ὀδύρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος.*[3] *ὀψὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησε· Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατά τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο.*[4]

(*Ex Pausanias*, i. 3, § 5.)

[1] This can hardly refer to the Celts. Cf. Xenophon, p. 36, excerpt. I. II.

[2] This is copied from Himilco, *vide* p. 16, line 204, and p. 24, lines 127–129.

[3] The Greek novelists told how Phaethon fell from his sun-chariot into the Eridanus and how his sisters wept for him, till the gods in pity turned them into black mourning poplars. But this sad tree still wept tears of amber; *vide* Himilco, p. 14, line 425 *et seq.*; Appendix to Pytheas, p. 88.

The names and accoutrements of these are said to have been seen then for the first time by the Greeks and Macedonians.[1]

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of the History of Ptolemy Lagus, Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias drew their accounts of the invasion of Delphi by the Gauls, and these writers agree except in minor points. The accounts by Pausanias and Justin are the fullest, and are quoted below, with notes where they differ from the account given by Diodorus. An excellent commentary on Pausanias by Mr. Frazer is published by Macmillan & Co., London. Justin-Trogus may have had Timagenes before him when writing of the Galati, but Timagenes drew from Hieronymus, or from a contemporary of Hieronymus.

I. These Galati inhabit the remotest parts of Europe on the shore of a great sea, which is not navigable in their neighbourhood: it flows and ebbs, and contains beasts quite unlike those in the rest of the sea.[2] Through their territory flows the river Eridanus, on whose banks people fancy that the daughters of the Sun bewail the fate of their brother Phaethon.[3] The name Galati is of late origin, for originally they were called Celts, both by themselves and by all other peoples.[4]

[4] A significant remark. The Celts who dwelt on the Po and Danube, and spread across Western Europe to the tin mines of Cornwall, were far removed in civilisation from the armed bands of Galati who burst from the east of the Rhine into Italy, &c., in the fourth century B.C. Cf. Bertrand et Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les Vallées du Pô*, &c., pp. 131, 160.

II. Συλλεγεῖσα δέ σφισι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, καὶ τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ᾠκει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε.[1] καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγίνοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἡσύχαζον τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἅτε ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακωθέντες πρότερον· καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὕστερον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἕκαστοι δι' ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀπεῖναι τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς τῆς βοηθείας. (2) Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπειρήκεσαν μήκει τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπταίοντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξιέναι δὲ ὅμως ὥρμηντο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας σὺν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἑλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλλιππον τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι. καταλαβόντες δὲ, ᾗ στενώτατον ἦν τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἶργον τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἣν καὶ Μήδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατο ὁ Τραχίνιος, καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπ' αὐτῇ λανθάνουσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλόντες τὴν Οἴτην. (3) Ἔνθα δὴ πλείστου παρέσχοντο αὑτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίους ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὡς ἐκυκλώθησαν, ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δέ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν, ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ τέλματος πρὸς ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ὄντος· αἴτιον δὲ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ ὕδωρ ταύτῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· μείζονα οὖν εἶχον οὗτοι πόνον. ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ

[1] Cf. *infra*, excerpt. XIII.–XVI.

II. An army of them mustered and advanced towards the Ionian Sea: they dispossessed the Illyrian people and even the Macedonians, as well as all the intervening tribes, and overran Thessaly.[1] When they had reached the vicinity of Thermopylae most of the Greeks remained impassive; for they had been badly used previously by Alexander and Philip, and subsequently Antipater and Cessander had all but ruined Greece, so that no one considered it a personal disgrace to refrain from taking part in the national defence. (2) But the Athenians, although of all the Greeks they were the most exhausted by the long Macedonian war and had suffered very heavily in the battles, nevertheless resolved to advance to Thermopylae under the command of the said Callippus, with such of the Greeks as volunteered. Having seized the narrowest part of the pass they essayed to check the Barbarians' entry into Greece. But the Celts hit upon the defile by which Ephialtes the Trachinian formerly guided the Medes; and after overpowering the Phocians who were posted on it, they crossed Mount Etna unobserved by the Greeks. (3) Then it was that the Athenians won the esteem of all Greece, for surrounded on both sides they kept the Barbarians at bay. But their comrades on the ships had the hardest task; for at Thermopylae the Lamian Gulf is a swamp, the cause of which, it seems to me, is the warm water that here flows into the sea. This entailed much labour on them; for when they had taken their fellow-Greeks on

They pass inside Thermopylae.

καταστρώματα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ναυσὶν ὑπό τε ὅπλων βαρείαις καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐβιάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ πλεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον ἔσωζον· (4) οἱ δὲ Γαλάται Πυλῶν τε ἐντὸς ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ πολίσματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ διαρπάσαι μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδήν. καί σφισιν αὐτοί τε Δελφοὶ καὶ Φωκέων ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τὸν Παρνασὸν οἰκοῦντες· ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ δύναμις Αἰτωλῶν· τὸ γὰρ Αἰτωλικὸν προεῖχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνῆσαν, ἐνταῦθα κεραυνοί τε ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀποῤῥαγεῖσαι πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασοῦ, δείματά τε ἄνδρες ἐφίσταντο ὁπλῖται τοῖς βαρβάροις· τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέροχον καὶ Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύῤῥον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως.[1] ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς συμμαχίας Πύῤῥῳ, πρότερον ἔχοντες ἄτε ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ. (5) Γαλατῶν δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάντες τά παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς ἐλεηλάτουν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Πέργαμον ἔχοντες, πάλαι δὲ Τευθρανίαν καλουμένην, ἐς τὴν νῦν Γαλατίαν αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνουσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.[2] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐκτὸς Σαγγαρίου χώραν ἔσχον, Ἄγκυραν πόλιν ἑλόντες Φρυγῶν, ἣν Μίδας ὁ Γορδίου πρότερον ᾤκισεν. ἄγκυρα δὲ, ἣν ὁ Μίδας ἀνεῦρεν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς, καὶ κρήνη Μίδου καλουμένη. ταύτην οἴνῳ κεράσαι Μίδαν

[1] Cf. the similar stories in Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Bk. ii. chap. iv.; Bk. v. chaps. ii. iv.

[2] *Vide infra*, excerpt. XIX.

board, they were obliged to make headway through the mud in ships laden down with armour and men. Thus they endeavoured to save the Greeks in the way I have described. (4) But the Galati were inside of Pylae; and, not bothering about taking the other towns, they were bent on plundering Delphi and the treasures of the god. The Delphians, and those of the Phocians who inhabit the cities in the neighbourhood of Parnassus, drew up in battle array against the Galati; there also came a force of Aetolians, for in those days the Aetolians were renowned for youthful vigour. But when they joined in battle, thunderbolts and rocks, breaking away from Parnassus, rolled down upon the Galati; and dreadful phantoms of men in arms arose against the Barbarians. They say that two of these ghostly warriors, Hyperochus and Amedocus, came from the Hyperboreans, and that the third was Pyrrhus the son of Achilles.[1] For this assistance the Delphians offer sacrifice to Pyrrhus, though formerly they held his very tomb in dishonour as that of a foe. (5) Most of the Galati crossed to Asia Minor in ships and plundered its sea-coast. Some time afterwards the people of Pergamus,—once named Teuthrania,—cleared the Galati off the sea, and drove them into the country now called Galatia.[2] They captured the Phrygian city Ancyra,—founded, in times gone by, by Midas, son of Gordius,—and took possession of the land beyond the Sangarius. The anchor, found by Midas, still exists there. They say that Midas mixed wine with the water of the fountain

They march on Delphi.

They cross to Asia (B.C. 278).

φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Σιληνοῦ. ταύτην τε δὴ τὴν Ἄγκυραν εἶλον καὶ Πεσινοῦντα ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγδιστιν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τεθάφθαι λέγουσι. (6) Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκῦλα ἀπὼ Γαλατῶν, ἔστι δὲ γραφὴ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἔχουσα.[1]

(*Idem*, i. 4.)

III. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὡρμημένον διώκειν αἰτία τοίαδε ἐπέσχεν. ἡνίκα παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιόντα ἀμύνεσθαι Μάγαν, ξένομς ἐπηγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντας κατασχεῖν Αἴγυπτον, ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἀπώλοντο ὑπό τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

(*Idem*, i. 7.)

IV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πληγὴν ἀναπαύσας τὴν δύναμιν προεῖπεν Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐς Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας διαμαρτίαν. κρατήσας δὲ τήν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε.[2] δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύῤῥου νίκη, ὡς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὅπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἔς τε τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

τούς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθάνᾳ
Πύῤῥος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
Πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν· οὐ μέγα θαῦμα·
Αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

(*Idem*, i. 13.)

[1] *Vide* Polybius, excerpt. LXIV. The Gauls defeated by Attalus would be the Tolistobogii who dwelt on the Kaikos; cf. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscription*, No. 180.

[Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ] Καΐκου ποταμοῦ
[πρὸς το]ὺς Γαλάτας μάχης.

'To commemorate the battle against the Galati fought at the river Kaikos.'

[2] Cf. *infra*, excerpt. XX.

to catch Silenus. This town of Ancyra, then, was captured by the Galati, as was Pessinus under Mount Agdistis, where Attis is said to be buried. (6) The Pergamenians possess spoils won from the Galati, and a picture representing the battle with them.[1]

III. Ptolemy would have hastened in pursuit, but was unable owing to the following incident. When making his preparations to resist the attack of Magus, he engaged, among other mercenaries, four thousand Galati; but he discovered that they were plotting to seize Egypt, and conducted them to a barren isle on the river, where they perished by one another's swords and through hunger.

IV. When he (Pyrrhus) had rested his army after their discomfiture in Italy, he declared war against Antigonus, because he had failed to support him in Italy, and for other offences. He routed the forces of Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries, and drove them into the cities on the sea-coast, while he made himself master of Upper Macedonia and Thessaly.[2] The importance of the battle and the decisive nature of the victory of Pyrrhus are best shown by the Celtic arms dedicated in the temple of Athena of Itonia, between Pherae and Larisa, and bearing the following inscription: B.C. 274–272.

'Pyrrhus the Molossian king dedicated these shields as a gift to Athena of Itonia:
From the intrepid Gauls he won them on the day on which he overthrew the whole
Force of Antigonus. And no wonder, for the Aeacids are warriors now as of old.'

V. Στρατιὰ μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἡ παρὰ Σελεύκῳ. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Δυσάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Δυσιμάχου παρ' αὐτὸν πεφευγὼς, ἄλλως δὲ τολμῆσαι πρόχειρος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνὸς καλούμενος, οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς προσιὼν ὁ Σελεύκου στρατὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ Λυσιμαχίαν, λαθὼν Σέλευκον κτείνει· διαρπάσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ χρήματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίας, ἐς ὃ Γαλάταις πρῶτος ὢν ἴσμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξασθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων·[1] τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Ἀντίγονος ἀνεσώσατο ὁ Δημητρίου.

(*Idem*, i. 16.)

VI. Ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοι τε τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄττης ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱός· καὶ τι ἑπόμενον τούτοις Γαλατῶν δρῶσιν οἱ Πεσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, ὑῶν οὐχ ἁπτόμενοι.

(*Idem*, vii. 17.)

VII. Γαλατῶν δὲ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας ἔχει μέν τινα μνήμην καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἡμῖν τὸ Ἀττικὸν συγγραφή· προάγειν δὲ ἐς τὸ σαφέστερον τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὅτι ἔργων τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ μέγιστα Ἕλλησιν ἐνταῦθα ἦν. ὑπερόριον μὲν οἱ Κελτοὶ στρατείαν πρώτην ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι ἐποιήσαντο Καμβαύλῃ· προελθόντες δὲ ἄχρι τῆς Θρᾴκης τὸ πρόσω τῆς πορείας οὐκ ἀπεθάρσησαν, καταγνόντες αὑτῶν ὅτι ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι κατ' ἀριθμὸν Ἕλλησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐπιφέρειν ἐδόκει ὅπλα ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλων, (ἐνῆγον δὲ

[1] Cf. *infra*, excerpt. XIV.

V. Seleucus had with him an army composed of Greeks and Barbarians. When he had advanced to Lysimachia he was assassinated by Ptolemy, brother of Lysandra. This Ptolemy had fled to him from Lysimachus, and from his reckless character was named Thunderbolt. The assassin gave up the treasures to the guards to plunder, and ruled Macedonia until, venturing to give battle to the Galati— and he was the first king we know of who did so—he perished at the hands of the Barbarians.[1] Antigonus the son of Demetrius then regained the throne. B.C. 281.

VI. Thereupon Attis himself and several of the Lydians were slain by the boar, in consequence of which the Galati who dwell in Pessinus will not eat swine. The boar is taboo.

VII. In my description of the Council Chamber at Athens I gave an account of the invasion of Greece by the Galati; but I thought it best to reserve the more detailed account for my description of Delphi, because this was the scene of the fiercest struggle between the Greeks and the Barbarians. The first expedition of the Celts from their country was under the leadership of Cambaules. On that occasion they penetrated as far as Thrace, but did not venture any further, as they realised that their numbers were too scanty to cope with the Greeks. But when a second expedition was resolved upon—chiefly at the instigation of those who had accompanied Cambaules, and Fuller account of expedition against Delphi.

μάλιστα οἱ ὁμοῦ Καμβαύλῃ ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἅτε λῃστειῶν τε ἤδη γεγευμένοι καὶ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ κερδῶν ἐς ἔρωτα ἥκοντες) πολὺς μὲν δὴ πεζὸς, οὐκ ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν· ἐς μοίρας οὖν τρεῖς ἔνεμον οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἄλλος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἄλλην ἐτέτακο ἰέναι χώραν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν Θρᾷκας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Τριβαλλῶν ἔμελλε Κερέθριος ἡγήσεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ ἐς Παιονίαν ἰοῦσι Βρέννος ἦσαν καὶ Ακιχώριος ἄρχοντες· Βόλγιος δὲ ἐπὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἤλασε, καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον κατέστη τότε ἔχοντα τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς Σέλευκόν τε ἐδολοφόνησε τὸν Αντιόχου καταπεφευγὼς ὅμως ἱκέτης ὡς αὐτὸν, καὶ εἶχεν ἐπίκλησιν Κεραυνὸς διὰ τὸ ἄγαν τολμηρόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτός τε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐλαχίστη φθορά. προελθεῖν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδὲ τότε ἐθάρρησαν οἱ Κελτοὶ, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος οὕτω στόλος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν.

Ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Βρέννος πολὺς μὲν ἐν συλλόγοις τοῖς κοινοῖς, πολὺς δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν ἐν τέλει Γαλατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαίρων στρατεύεσθαι, ἀσθένειάν τε Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι διηγούμενος καὶ ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, πλείονα δὲ ἐν ἱεροῖς τά τε ἀναθήματα καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός ἐστιν ἐπίσημος· ἀνέπεισέ τε δὴ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτῷ συνάρχοντας ἄλλους τε προσείλετο τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τὸν Ἀκιχώριον.[1]

Ὁ δὲ ἀθροισθεὶς στρατὸς πεζοὶ μὲν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο πεντεκαίδεκα προσόντων σφίσι δισχιλίων, οἱ δὲ ἱππεύοντες

[1] Cf. *infra*, excerpt. XIII.–XVI.

in whom the gains of that looting had awakened a love of plunder and booty—a large force of infantry and of cavalry assembled. The leaders consequently made three divisions of the army, and each set out for a different country. Cerethrius was to advance against the Thracians and the Triballi; Brennus and Acichorius commanded the army marked out to attack Paeonia; while Bolgius was to march against the Macedonians and Illyrians. The latter fought an engagement with Ptolemy, then king of Macedonia. This was the man who, while a refugee at the court of Seleucus, son of Antiochus, assassinated his protector, and whose violence earned him the nickname of Thunderbolt. Ptolemy and a large number of the Macedonian army fell in this battle; still the Celts did not dare to venture further into Greece, and so the second expedition returned home again.

B.C. 282.

B.C. 281.

Hereupon Brennus, at public assemblies and in private interviews with the chief men of the Galati, energetically advocated an expedition against Greece, pointing out her weakness at the time, the wealth of her communities, and the immense treasures in her temples, in the shape of offerings in gold and silver coin. In such manner did he prevail upon the Galati to march once more upon Greece, and among the chieftains he chose to be his colleagues Acichorius was found once more.[1]

Details of Celtic forces (B.C. 278).

The assembled army numbered one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and twenty thousand four hundred horse. This number represents the fighting

τετρακόσιοι καὶ δισμύριοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἦσαν τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἀεὶ ἐνεργόν, ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἀληθὴς διακόσιοί τε καὶ χίλιοι καὶ ἓξ μυρίαδες· δύο γὰρ οἰκέται περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἱππευόντων ἦσαν, ἀγαθοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἱππικὰ καὶ ἵππους ὁμοίως ἔχοντες. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν ἀγῶνος συνεστηκότος ὑπομένοντες τῆς τάξεως ὄπισθεν οἱ οἰκέται τοσάδε σφίσιν ἐγίνοντο χρήσιμοι· τῷ γὰρ ἱππεῖ συμβὰν ἢ τῷ ἵππῳ πεσεῖν, τὸν μὲν ἵππον παρεῖχεν ἀναβῆναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ δοῦλος ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαινεν· εἰ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιλάβοι τὸ χρεών, ἐνταῦθα ἕτοιμος ἦν ἱππεύς. λαμβανόντων δὲ τραύματα αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν ὑπεξῆγε τῶν δούλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸν τραυματίαν, ὁ δὲ καθίστατο ἐς τὴν τάξιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπελθόντος· ταῦτα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐνομίσθη τοῖς Γαλάταις ἐς μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις ἀριθμοῦ τῶν μυρίων οὓς ἐκαλοῦντο Ἀθάνατοι. διαφορὰ δὲ ἦν, ὅτι κατελέγοντο ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ὑπὸ μὲν Περσῶν τῆς μάχης ὕστερον, Γαλάταις δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἀκμὴν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἀπεπληροῦτο τῶν ἱππέων. τοῦτο ὠνόμαζον τὸ σύνταγμα τριμαρκισίαν[1] τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ· καὶ ἵππῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν. παρασκευῇ μὲν τοσαύτῃ καὶ μετὰ διανοίας τοιαύτης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ Βρέννος ἤλαυνε.

(*Idem*, x. 19.)

VIII. (1) Τοῖς δέ γε Ἕλλησι κατεπεπτώκει μὲν ἐς ἅπαν τὰ φρονήματα, τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ δείματος προῆγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην

[1] Welsh *trî*, Irish *tri* = three. Irish, Gaelic, Breton *marc* and Welsh *march* = horse. Pausanias preserves another Celtic word for us. καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀμβρωσέων οὐ συνεχεῖς μὲν καὶ αἱ θάμνοι· τὴν δὲ θάμνον ταύτην Ἴωνες μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν κόκκον Γαλάται δὲ οἱ ὑπὲρ φρυγίας φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ σφίσιν ὀνομάζουσιν ὖς (x. 36). 'And in the country of Ambrosus there grows, though not so thickly as the vine, the shrub which the Ionians and the other Greeks call *kokkos*, and which the Galati above Phrygia call in their

force of the cavalry, but as each trooper had two servants, who were themselves good horsemen and provided with a horse, the actual cavalry strength was sixty-one thousand two hundred. The cavalry tactics of the Galati are as follows: the servants remain in the rear close at hand; if a trooper had his horse killed, the servant brought him a fresh mount; if the trooper himself was slain, the man mounted his master's horse; and if this man too fell, the third servant in turn took his place in the fight. If the master was wounded, one of the servants conveyed him to the camp, while the other took his place in the ranks. The tactics, it seems to me, were adopted by the Galati from the Persian corps of the Ten Thousand, known as the Immortals, but with this difference: in the Persian corps the reserve fell in after the engagement, while with the Galati the reserve took its place as wanted during the action, and thus kept up the full strength in the battle. This organisation they called in their own tongue *trimarcisia*[1]; for the Celtic word for a horse is *marca*. Such was the force and such were the objects with which Brennus invaded Greece.

Their tactics.

VIII. (1) The spirit of the Greeks had wellnigh deserted them, but the gravity of the crisis compelled

tongue *hus*'; hus is connected with Teutonic *hulis*, hence; French *houx*, English *holly*. The Galatians spoke their Celtic tongue down to fourth century A.D. according to St. Jerome, *Commentar. in Epist. ad Galat.* Bk. ii. praef., '*Galatas . . . propriam linguam, eandemque pene habere quam Treviros, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruperint.*' But M. Perrot (*Revue Celtique*, ii. 179) shows that St. Jerome is untrustworthy on points of this kind.

τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀμύνειν. ἑώρων δὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας γενησόμενον, καθὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μήδου ποτέ, οὐδὲ δοῦσιν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτου σφίσιν ἄδειαν φέροντα· ἀλλὰ τά τε ἐς Μακεδόνας καὶ Θρᾷκας καὶ Παίονας τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας καταδρομῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔτι σφίσιν ἔκειτο ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὰ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς παρανομήματα ἀπηγγέλλετο. ὡς οὖν ἀπολωλέναι δέον ἢ ἐπικρατεστέρους εἶναι, κατ' ἄνδρα τε ἰδίᾳ καὶ αἱ πόλεις διέκειντο ἐν κοινῷ.[1]

(2) Πάρεστι δὲ, ὅστις ἐθέλοι, καὶ ἀναριθμῆσαι τούς τε ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ξέρξην ἐς Πύλας καὶ τοὺς τότε ἐναντία Γαλατῶν ἀθροισθέντας. ἐπὶ μέν γε τὸν Μῆδον ἀφίκοντο τοσοίδε Ἑλλήνων· Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ μετὰ Λεωνίδου τριακοσίων οὐ πλέονες· Τεγεᾶται πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἴσοι· παρὰ δὲ Ὀρχομενίων Ἀρκάδων εἴκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων χίλιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων· ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Μυκηνῶν καὶ ἐκ Φλιοῦντος διακόσιοι· διπλάσιοι δὲ τούτων Κορίνθιοι· παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι ἐκ Θεσπείας, καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι· χίλιοι δὲ Φωκέων ἐφύλασσον μὲν τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ, προσέστω δὲ τῷ παντὶ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τούτων. Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι Ἡροδοτος μὲν οὐχ ὑπήγαγεν ἐς ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἀφικέσθαι σφᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν ἔφη τῶν πόλεων. τεκμήρασθαι δὲ ἀριθμὸν καὶ τούτων ἔστιν ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀληθοῦς· ἐς Μαραθῶνα γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σὺν ἡλικίᾳ τε τῇ ἀχρείῳ καὶ δούλοις ἐνακισχιλίων ἀφίκοντο οὐ πλείους· τὸ

[1] Cf. *infra*, excerpt. XIII.–XVI.

them to defend their country. They perceived that it was not merely their liberty which was now at stake, as at the time of the Persian war, but that security could not be purchased even by submission, for they had before their eyes the fate that had overtaken Macedonia, Thrace, and Paeonia, during the previous inroads of the Galati, and reports were reaching them of the atrocities that even then were being perpetrated on the Thessalians. All now recognised that the alternatives to be faced were death or victory.[1]

Details of Greek forces.

(2) Perhaps we may here compare the numbers that met King Xerxes at Thermopylae, and the force that now fought against the Galati. To meet the Medes the following Greek forces assembled: Lacedaemonians under Leonidas, not more than three hundred; Tegeans, five hundred; from Mantinea, the same number; from Orchomenus, in Arcadia, one hundred and twenty; from the other cities in Arcadia, one thousand; from Mycenae, eighty; from Phlius, two hundred; double that number from Corinth; and of the Boeotians there came forward seven hundred from Thespiae, and four hundred from Thebes. One thousand Phocians guarded the path on Mount Oeta: their number should be added to the total of the Greek force. The number of Locrians who dwelt under Mount Cnemis is not stated by Herodotus, though he states that every city contributed; but it is possible to make a close approximation; for the number of Athenians who marched to Marathon, inclusive of slaves and those unfit for service through age, did not

οὖν μάχιμον Λοκρῶν τὸ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐλθὸν οὐκ ἂν ὑπέρ γε ἑξακισχιλίους ἦν ἀριθμόν· οὕτω γένοιτο ἂν ὁ σύμπας στρατὸς διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. φαίνονται δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτοι τὸν χρόνον πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τῶν Πυλῶν καταμείναντες· πλὴν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Θεσπιέων καὶ Μυκηναίων προαπέλιτον τὸ πέρας τῆς μάχης οἱ λοιποί.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ βαρβάρους τοσοίδε ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀφίκοντο Ἕλληνες· ὁπλῖται μύριοι καὶ ἵππος πεντακοσία παρὰ Βοιωτῶν· ἐβοιωτάρχουν δὲ Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Θεαρίδας καὶ Διογένης καὶ Λύσανδρος. ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων ἱππεῖς πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἐς τρισχιλίους ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν πεζῶν· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Φωκέων Κριτόβουλός τε ἦν καὶ Ἀντίοχος. Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀταλάντῃ τῇ νήσῳ Μειδίας ἦγεν· ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι, καὶ ἱππικὸν σφισιν οὐ προσῆν. παρὰ δὲ Μεγαρέων ἀφίκοντο ὁπλῖται τετρακόσιοι· τούτων ἡγεῖτο [ἱππικὸν] * * Μεγαρεύς· Αἰτωλῶν δὲ πλείστη τε ἐγένετο στρατιὰ καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν μάχης ἰδέαν, ἡ μὲν ἵππος οὐ λέγουσιν ὁπόση, ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίων ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν οἱ ὁπλιτεύοντες· Αἰτωλοὺς δὲ ἦγον Πολύαρχος καὶ Πολύφρων τε καὶ Λακράτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ στρατηγὸς μὲν Κάλλιππος ἦν ὁ Μοιροκλέους, καθὰ ἐδήλωσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου, δύναμις δὲ τριήρεις τε αἱ πλώιμοι πᾶσαι, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν, χίλιοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς· καὶ ἡγεμονίαν οὗτοι κατ' ἀξίωμα εἶχον τὸ ἀρχαῖον. βασιλέων δὲ ξενικὰ πεντακόσιοί τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας

exceed nine thousand; therefore, the fighting force of Locrians at Thermopylae cannot be reckoned at more than six thousand. Thus the whole army may have numbered eleven thousand two hundred. But even that force did not remain in arms the whole time at Thermopylae, for with the exception of the Lacedaemonians themselves, the Thespians, and the Mycenaeans, they did not wait to see the issue of the fight.

To meet the Barbarians who had come from the Ocean the following Greek forces marched to Thermopylae. Ten thousand heavy armed infantry and five hundred horse from Boeotia: the Boeotardis were Cephisodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes and Lysander. From Phocis, five hundred horse and three thousand foot, under the command of Critobulus and Antiochus. The Locrians who dwell opposite the island of Atalanta were led by Midias: they numbered seven hundred, but had no cavalry. From Megara there came four hundred heavy foot: Megareus led their cavalry. The Aetolian force was very numerous, and included horse and foot. The strength of their cavalry is not given. Their light infantry numbered ninety, and their heavy infantry amounted to seven thousand. Polyarchus, Polyphron, and Lacrates were their leaders. The general of the Athenians was Callippus, son of Moerocles, as mentioned previously; and the Athenians had all their seaworthy galleys, five hundred horse, and one thousand foot. In virtue of their ancient prestige they held the command. The kings of Macedonia and Asia contributed five hundred

καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἴσοι σφίσιν ἀφίκοντο ἀριθμόν· ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν μὲν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου πεμφθέντων Ἀριστόδημος ἦν Μακεδών, τῶν δὲ παρὰ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Τελέσαρχος τῶν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ Σύρων.

Τοῖς δὲ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀθροισθεῖσιν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς ἐπύθοντο περί τε Μαγνησίαν καὶ γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν ὄντα ἤδη τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸν στρατὸν, ἔδοξεν ἤδη ψιλούς τε ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἵππον ἀπολέξαντας ἀποστεῖλαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σπερχειόν, ἵνα μηδὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἄνευ ἀγῶνός τε καὶ κινδύνων ἐγγένηται· οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες τὰς γεφύρας τε καταλύουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Βρέννος οὔτε πάντα ἀσύνετος οὔτε ἀπείρως εἶχεν, ὡς ἄν τις βάρβαρος, σοφίσματα ἐς πολεμίους ἐξευρεῖν. εὐθὺς οὖν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ, οὐ καθότι ἦν τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῷ ποταμῷ ζεύγματα ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ κάτω, ὡς μή τις τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαβαινόντων γένοιτο αἴσθησις, καὶ ᾗ μάλιστα ὁ Σπερχειὸς διεχεῖτο ἐς πλέον τοῦ πεδίου καὶ ἕλος τε ἐποίει καὶ λίμνην ἀντὶ βιαίου καὶ στενοῦ ῥεύματος, κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ Βρέννος ὅσον μυρίους τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπέστειλεν, ὁπόσοι τε νεῖν ἠπίσταντο ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅστις τῷ μήκει τοῦ σώματος ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Κελτοὶ μακρῷ πάντας ὑπερηρκότες μήκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ διανηχόμενοι ὧδε τὸ λιμνῶδες τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους θυρεούς, ἐποιεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀντὶ σχεδίας· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μήκιστοι διελθεῖν ἐμβαδὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐδυνήθησαν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σπερχειῷ, (πυνθάνονται γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ἕλος διέβη μοῖρα τῶν βαρβάρων) αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἀναχωροῦσιν.

(*Idem*, x. 20.)

IX. (1) Βρέννος δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μαλιακὸν κόλπον

mercenaries each: the force sent by Antigonus was led by Aristodemus, a Macedonian: the Asiatic contingent from Antiochus was under Telesarchus, a native of the district of Syria on the Orontes.

When the Greeks who were marshalled at Thermopylae learned that the army of the Galati had reached the neighbourhood of Magnesia and Phthiotis, they decided to send a detachment of one thousand picked light-armed foot and a company of horse to the river Spercheus, to dispute the passage of the river. On reaching the river they broke down the bridges and encamped on the bank. But Brennus was no incompetent leader, and, for a Barbarian, by no means a poor strategist. Accordingly, that very night he dispatched a force, not to the places where the old bridges had stood, but lower down the river, so that they might effect a passage unobserved by the Greeks. Here the Spercheus spreads its waters over the plain, forming a marsh and lagoon instead of a narrow rapid stream. Thither, then, Brennus dispatched some ten thousand Galati who could swim and were taller than their fellows; and of all the races in the world the Celts are by far the tallest. They crossed the river in the night by swimming the lagoon, and using their national shields as a sort of raft. The tallest of them were able to wade across. When the Greeks at the Spercheus heard that a detachment of the enemy had crossed the river, they at once fell back on the main body. Operations commence.

IX. (1) Brennus next ordered the people who

οἰκοῦσι ζευγνύναι τὸν Σπερχειὸν ἐπέτασσεν· οἱ δὲ ἤνυον τὸ ἔργον σπουδῇ, τῷ τε ἐκείνου δέει καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφίσιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους, μηδὲ ἐπὶ πλέον κακουργεῖν μένοντας. ὁ δὲ ὡς κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὴν στρατιάν, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν· καὶ διήρπασαν μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας οἱ Γαλάται καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐφόνευσαν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ οὐχ εἷλον. ἔτει γὰρ πρότερον τούτων οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συντελεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας ἠνάγκασαν ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν· τότε οὖν ἠμύνοντο ὡς περὶ πόλεως οὐδέν τι Ἡρακλεώταις μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ Βρέννῳ τὰ μὲν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἐλάσσονος φροντίδος, ἀγώνισμα δὲ ἐποιεῖτο ἐξελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν στενῶν τοὺς ἀντικαθημένους καὶ παρελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Θερμοπυλῶν Ἑλλάδα.

(2) Προελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείας, (ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ παρὰ αὐτομόλων τοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐς Πύλας ἀπὸ ἑκάστης πόλεως) ὑπερεφρόνει τε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ ἦρχεν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν μάχης ἅμα ἀνίσχοντι τῷ ἡλίῳ, οὔτε Ἕλληνα ἔχων μάντιν οὔτε ἱεροῖς ἐπιχωρίοις χρώμενος, εἰ δὴ ἔστι γε μαντεία Κελτική.[1] ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν σιγῇ τε ἐπῄεσαν καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ· καὶ ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐς χεῖρας, οὔτε σφίσιν οἱ πεζοὶ τοσοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐξέθεον ὥστε τὴν φάλαγγα ἐπιταράσσειν τὴν οἰκείαν, καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ μένοντες κατὰ χώραν τά τε ἀκόντια ἔπεμπον καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν τόξων ἢ σφενδονῶν. τὰ δὲ ἱππικὰ ἀμφοτέροις ἀχρεῖα ἐγένετο ἅτε οὐ στενοῦ μόνον χωρίου τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Πύλας ὄντος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτοφυοῦς πέτρας λείου καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥευμάτων τὸ συνεχὲς τὰ πλέονα καὶ ὀλισθηροῦ. τοῖς δὲ Γαλάταις τὰ μὲν τῆς σκευῆς ἀσθενέστερα

[1] But cf. *infra*, excerpt. XXI.

dwelt round the Malian Gulf to throw bridges over the Spercheus. This they lost no time in doing, for they were urged on by a dread of Brennus and a desire to get the Barbarians out of their country, and thus save it from any further ruin. Brennus then led his army across the bridges and marched on Heraclea. The Galati did not reduce this city, but they plundered the district, and slew all the men they caught in the fields. During the previous year the Aetolians had compelled the Heracleans to join their League, and now they protected the town as if it belonged as much to them as to its inhabitants, and saved it. But Brennus cared little about Heraclea : his whole heart was set on dislodging the enemy from the passes, and penetrating south of Thermopylae into the centre of Greece.

Celts offer battle.

(2) He therefore advanced from Heraclea, and, on being informed by deserters of the strength of the Greek contingents at Thermopylae, in utter contempt of the Greek army, he offered battle at sunrise on the following day. He had no Greek seer with him, and he consulted no omens, if indeed the Celts practise any art of divination.[1] The Greeks advanced in silence and in good order. On joining battle the infantry preserved their formation by not charging out of the ranks, while the skirmishers, standing their ground, hurled darts and plied their arrows and slings. The cavalry on both sides was useless ; for not only is the pass narrow, but the ground is smooth owing to its rocky nature, and slippery owing to the many streams that intersect it. The Galati were inferior as

ἦν· θυρεοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιγωρίους εἶχον, καὶ ἄλλο σφίσιν οὐκ ἦν ὅπλον σκέπη σώματος· πλέον δὲ ἔτι ἐμπειρίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀπέδεον. οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ θυμῷ μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ καθάπερ τὰ θηρία ἐχώρουν· καὶ οὔτε πελέκεσι διαιρουμένους ἢ ὑπὸ μαχαιρῶν ἡ ἀπόνοια τοὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας ἀπέλειπεν, οὔτε ὅσοι βέλεσι καὶ ἀκοντίοις διεπείροντο ὑφῄρουν τοῦ θυμοῦ, μέχρι οὗ παρέμενεν ἡ ψυχή· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τὰ δόρατα οἷς ἐβέβληντο ἀνασπῶντες ἠφίεσάν τε ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐχρῶντο ἐκ χειρός. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναῖοι μόγις μὲν καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνου παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ὅμως διὰ τῆς ἰλύος, ἐπεὶ πλεῖστον ἐπέχει τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῶν βαρβάρων σχόντες, βέλεσί τε παντοίοις ἐς τὰ πλάγια καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο. καμνόντων δὲ λόγου μειζόνως τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ μικρὰ μὲν δρώντων, διπλάσια δὲ καὶ τετραπλάσια πασχόντων, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήμαινόν σφισιν οἱ ἡγεμόνες. οἱ δὲ ἀτάκτως καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ ἀναστρέφοντες κόσμῳ πολλοὶ μὲν συνεπατήθησαν ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ τέλμα ἐμπεσόντες ἠφανίσθησαν κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ, καὶ ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀναχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῦ ἀγῶνος συνέβη τῇ ἀκμῇ.

(3) Τοὺς μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνας τὸ Ἀττικὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἀρετῇ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην· αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κυδίας μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἀγαθὸς, νέος τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τότε ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθὼν πολέμου πρῶτον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Διΐ, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

regards armour, for their only defensive weapon was their national shield; moreover, they were less experienced in the science of war. They rushed on their enemy with the rage and fury and blind courage of a wild beast. Hacked with swords and axes, and pierced with darts and javelins, their fury only died with life itself. Nay, some even plucked out the weapons that struck them and hurled them back at the Greeks, or used them in hand-to-hand fight. Meanwhile the Athenians, with much difficulty and danger, navigated their fleet over the mud that accumulates in great quantities in that sea, and coming as close up as they could to the rear of the Barbarians, raked their flank with a fire of all kinds of missiles and arrows. The Celts were now exhausted: on the narrow ground they received far heavier losses than they could inflict; and, at last, their leaders gave the signal to retire to the camp. A disorderly and confused retreat ensued, during which many were trampled under foot by their companions, and many were submerged in the mud into which they were pushed, till the losses in the retreat were as heavy as in the heat of the action.

Celtic mode of fighting.

(3) On that day the Athenian troops surpassed in valour all the rest of the Greeks; but the bravest of them was Cydias, a youth who then for the first time took his place in a battle. He was slain by the Galati, and his kinsmen dedicated his shield to Zeus of Freedom with the following inscription:—

Ἡ μάλα δὴ ποθέουσα νέαν ἔτι Κυδιόν ἤβην
Ἀσπὶς ἀριζήλου φωτὸς, ἄγαλμα Διΐ,
Ἃς διὰ δὴ πρώτας λαιὸν ποτε πῆχυν ἔτεινεν,
Εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἤκμασε θοῦρος Ἄρης.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Σύλλᾳ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας.

(4) Τότε δὲ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν μάχην τούς τε αὐτῶν ἔθαπτον καὶ ἐσκύλευον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ Γαλάται δὲ οὔτε ὑπὲρ ἀναιρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, ἐποιοῦντό τε ἐπ' ἴσης γῆς σφᾶς τυχεῖν ἢ θηρία τε αὐτῶν ἐμφορηθῆναι καὶ ὅσον τεθνεῶσι πολέμιόν ἐστιν ὀρνίθων. ὀλιγώρως δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τῶν ἀπογινομένων ἔχειν τὰς ταφὰς δύο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὰ ἀναπείθοντα ἦν, πολεμίους τε ἄνδρας ἐκπλῆξαι καὶ ὅτι ἐστὶ τεθνεώτων οὐ δι' ἔθους οἶκτος αὐτοῖς. ἀπέθανον δὲ παρὰ τὴν μάχην τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀκριβῶς ἐξευρεῖν· πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀφανισθὲν κατὰ τῆς ἰλύος ἐγένετο ἐξ αὐτῶν.

(*Ex Pausaniae*, x. 21.)

X. (1) Ἑβδόμῃ δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν μάχην λόχος τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Οἴτην ἐπεχείρησε κατὰ Ἡράκλειαν. ἀτραπὸς δὲ στενὴ καὶ ἀνάντης μετ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἐρείπια ἀνήκει τὰ Τραχῖνος· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς Τραχινίδος καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· ἔς τε αὐτὴν Οἴτην ἀναβήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ ἅμα προσέσεσθαί σφισιν ἐν

'I hang here in sad regret for the bloom of Cydias' youth,
Once the shield of a noble man, now an offering to Zeus;
I was the first shield through which he thrust his left arm,
When rushing Ares raged against the Galati.'

This inscription was preserved till the shields in the colonnade of Zeus of Freedom, with other noteworthy things at Athens, were removed by the soldiers of Sulla.

Celts neglect their dead.

(4) After the battle of Thermopylae the Greeks buried their dead, and stripped the spoils off the Galati. But the Galati not only made no request for permission to bury their dead, but were even quite indifferent as to whether they were buried or devoured by wild beasts and the birds that feed on corpses. Their indifference as to the burial of their dead was due, in my opinion, to two causes: a wish to strike awe into the enemy by such callous conduct, and the fact that they do not customarily mourn their dead. Forty of the Greeks fell in the battle: the exact losses of the Barbarians cannot be ascertained, for a great number of them were lost in the mud.

X. (1) On the sixth day after the battle a detachment of Galati attempted to ascend Mount Oeta from Heraclea by a narrow path that leads up the mountain just beyond the ruins of Trachis. In those days, above the territory of Trachis, there was a sanctuary of Athena rich in votive offerings. The

παρέργῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομένου Τελεσάρχῳ. καὶ νικῶσι μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπεσεν ὁ Τελέσαρχος, ἀνὴρ εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος πρόθυμος ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων.

(2) Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἡγεμόνες τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἄλλοι κατεπεπλήγεσαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, καὶ ἠπόρουν ἅμα ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ἐς οὐδέν σφισι πλέον προχωροῦντα ὁρῶντες τὰ ἐν χερσὶ, τῷ δὲ Βρέννῳ λογισμὸς παρίστατο ὡς, εἰ ἀναγκάσει τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἀναχωρῆσαι, ῥᾴων ἤδη γενήσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἀπολέξας οὖν τῆς στρατιᾶς μυριάδας τοὺς πεζοὺς τέσσαρας καὶ ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους ἱππέας, Ὀρεστόριόν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ Κόμβουτιν ἐφίστησιν ἄρχοντας· οἳ ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ τὰς γεφύρας καὶ αὖθις διὰ Θεσσαλίας ὁδεύσαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν· καὶ τὰ ἐς Καλλιέας Κόμβουτις οἱ ἐργασάμενοι καὶ Ὀρεστόριος ἦσαν, ἀνοσιώτατά τε ὧν ἀκοῇ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια. γένος μέν γε πᾶν ἐξέκοψαν τὸ ἄρσεν, καὶ ὁμοίως γέροντές τε καὶ τὰ νήπια ἐπὶ τῶν μητέρων τοῖς μαστοῖς ἐφονεύετο· τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος πιότερα ἀποκτείνοντες ἔπινόν τε οἱ Γαλάται τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἤπτοντο τῶν σαρκῶν. γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ ὅσαι ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν παρθένων, ὅσαι μὲν φρονήματός τι αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἑαυτὰς ἔφθησαν ὡς ἡλίσκετο ἡ πόλις διειργασμέναι, τὰς δὲ ἔτι περιούσας ἐς ἰδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἦγον, ἰσχυρᾶς, ἅτε ἴσον μὲν ἐλέου, ἴσον δὲ τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἔρωτος ἀπέχοντες· καὶ ὅσαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς μαχαίραις τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπετύγχανον, αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν· ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεὼν ἔμελλεν ἥ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀυπνία ἀστέγων βαρβάρων ἐκ

Barbarians hoped to ascend Mount Oeta by this path, and to plunder the temple by the way. But the garrison under the command of Telesarchus defeated them; Telesarchus, however, was slain—a Greek patriot if ever there was one.

(2) All the Barbarian leaders, except Brennus, were unmanned by the Greek success, and seeing that their expedition made no progress they were perplexed as to the future. But it occurred to Brennus that if he forced the Aetolians to return home, the operations against the remaining Greeks would be much easier. He detached from his army a force of forty thousand foot and some eight hundred horse, and placed these picked men under the command of Orestorius and Combutis. These troops marched back by the bridges over the Spercheus, and, passing through Thessaly, invaded Aetolia. The sack of Callium by Combutis and Orestorius was the most atrocious and inhuman in history. The whole male population was put to the sword, old men and babes at their mothers' breasts were butchered alike. They even drank the blood, and ate the flesh of the fattest of the babies. All the matrons and marriageable maidens who had a spark of spirit put an end to their lives when the town was captured; those who survived were forcibly subjected to every species of outrage by beings who were absolutely devoid of pity and all human feelings. Some of the women met a voluntary death by rushing on the swords of the Galati, the rest soon perished from want of food and sleep, the ruthless Barbarians

Stories of Celts' cruelty.

διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβριζόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφιείσαις τὰς ψυχὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἤδη νεκραῖς συνεγίνοντο ὅμως.

(3) Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πεπυσμένοι τε παρὰ ἀγγέλων ἦσαν ὁποῖαι σφᾶς κατειλήφεσαν συμφοραὶ, καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχον ἀναστήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, τά τε παθήματα τῶν Καλλιέων ἐν ὀργῇ ποιούμενοι καὶ πλέον ἔτι τὰς οὐχ ἑαλωκυίας πω διασώσασθαι πόλεις προθυμούμενοι. ἐξεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἴκοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἀναμεμιγμένοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τε καὶ φρονήματος καὶ οἱ γεγηρακότες· συνεστρατεύοντο δέ σφισι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἑκουσίως, πλέον ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ θυμῷ χρώμεναι.

(4) Ὡς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι συλήσαντες τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐνέντες πῦρ ἐς τὸ Κάλλιον ἐκομίζοντο τὴν αὐτὴν, ἐνταῦθα Πατρεῖς μὲν ἐπικουροῦντες Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι προσέκειντο ἐξ ἐναντίας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἅτε ὁπλιτεύειν δεδιδαγμένοι, καὶ ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀπονοίας μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρησαν· οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Αἰτωλαὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν τεταγμένοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐσηκόντιζόν τε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐχόντων θυρεοὺς ὀλίγα αὐτῶν ἡμάρτανον, διώκοντάς τε ἀπέφευγον οὐ χαλεπῶς, καὶ ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἐπέκειντο αὖθις σπουδῇ. Καλλιεῦσι δὲ καίπερ δεινὰ οὕτω παθοῦσιν ὡς μηδὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου πεποιημένα ἔς τε Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ ἐς Κύκλωπα ἐκτὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν ἀληθείας, ὅμως κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγίνετο ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκη· ἀπὸ γὰρ

outraging them in turn, and glutting their lust on the persons of even the dying and dead.

(3) Informed by messengers of the calamities that had befallen their kin, the Aetolians set out with all speed from Thermopylae and hastened into Aetolia, deeply incensed by the sufferings at the sack of Callium, and still more anxious to save the town that had not yet fallen. From all their houses the young men poured out; the old men too, roused by the emergency, joined with them; nay, the very women, whose fury against the Galati exceeded that of the men, volunteered their services.

(4) Before setting out on their return march the Barbarians pillaged the houses and sanctuaries, and fired the town of Callium. Then they were met by the Patreans, who were the only Achaeans who came to the support of the Aetolians. The Patreans, being excellent as heavy infantry, made a frontal assault on the Galati, but suffered heavily from the numbers and desperate valour of the Barbarians. The Aetolians, on the other hand, both men and women, lined the whole road, and kept up an effective fire of weapons on the Barbarians, who had only their national shields for protection. When the Galati pursued them they easily escaped, and then, when their enemy was returning from their vain pursuit, they renewed the attack with vigour. Hence dreadful as had been the fate of Callium—so dreadful, indeed, that in its light Homer's story of the combat between the Laestrygones and the Cyclops seems hardly

τεσσάρων μυριάδων προσόντων σφίσιν ὀκτακοσίων ἐλάσσονες ἡμίσεων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ πρὸς Θερμοπύλαις ἀπεσώθησαν.

(5) Περὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις συνέβαινεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. ἀτραπός ἐστι διὰ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Οἴτης, μία μὲν ἡ ὑπὲρ Τραχῖνος ἀπότομός τε τὰ πλείω καὶ ὄρθιος δεινῶς, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάνων ὁδεῦσαι στρατῷ ῥᾴων, δι' ἧς καὶ Ὑδάρνης ποτὲ Μῆδος κατὰ νώτου τοῖς περὶ Λεωνίδην ἐπέθετο Ἕλλησι. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἄξειν Βρέννου οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Αἰνιᾶνες, οὐ κακονοίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τοὺς δὲ Κελτοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφίσιν ἀπελθεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαθημένους φθείρειν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι. καί μοι φαίνεται Πίνδαρος ἀληθῆ καὶ ἐν τῷδε εἰπεῖν, ὃς πάντα τινὰ ὑπὸ κακῶν οἰκείων ἔφη πιέζεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀλλοτρίοις κήδεσιν ἀπήμαντον εἶναι. τότε δὲ ἡ τῶν Αἰνιάνων καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ὑπόσχεσις ἐπήγειρε τὸν Βρέννον· καὶ Ἀκιχώριον μὲν κατέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, προειπών, ἐπειδὰν περιλάβωσιν αὐτοὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τηνικαῦτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐφόδου καιρὸν εἶναι· ἀπολέξας δὲ αὐτὸς μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ τέσσαρας ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς ἀτραποῦ· καί πως ἐπ' ἐκείνης συνέβαινε τῆς ἡμέρας τήν τε ὁμίχλην κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους καταχεῖσθαι πολλὴν καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε τῶν Φωκέων τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὴν φρουρὰν οὐ πρότερον ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι παρέσχοντο αἴσθησιν πρὶν ἢ πλησίον ἐγεγόνεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ μὲν μάχης ἦρχον, οἱ δὲ ἠμύνοντο

exaggerated—it was adequately avenged; for of the forty thousand eight hundred Barbarians less than half returned alive to the camp at Thermopylae.

(5) Meanwhile the Greeks at Thermopylae fared as follows. There are two paths over Mount Oeta: one, starting above Trachis, is very steep and precipitous; the other, leading through the territory of the Aenianians, is more suitable for an army. This is the path by which Hydarnes, the Mede, on a former occasion turned the flank of the forces under Leonidas, and it was by this same pass that the Heracleots and Aenianians now proposed to guide Brennus, not indeed out of any want of sympathy with the Greeks, but merely because they desired above all else to rid their district of the presence of the Celts, which threatened their utter ruin. The words of Pindar are indeed true, that every man is affected by his own troubles but is insensible to the woes of others. The promise of the Aenianians and Heracleots encouraged Brennus, who thereupon left Acichorius in command of the army with instructions to attack the Greek force when he himself had got to their rear. Then at the head of forty thousand men he set off up the path. It chanced that on that day a thick mist came over the mountain, darkening the sun, so that the Phocians posted on the pass did not notice the approach of the Barbarians till they were close on them. Attacked by the enemy, the Phocians defended themselves with spirit, but were at last overpowered and driven from the pass. They

Celts pass inside Thermopylae.

ἐῤῥωμένως, τέλος δὲ ἐβιάσθησαν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτραποῦ· καταδραμόντες μέντοι παρὰ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ ἀπαγγείλαντες τὰ παρόντα ἔφθησαν, πρὶν ἢ ἀκριβῆ καὶ πανταχόθεν τελέαν γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὴν κύκλωσιν. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν ὑπεξαγαγόντες ἐκ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάσθησαν.

(*Idem*, x. 22.)

XII. (1) Ὁ δὲ Βρέννος οὐδένα ἔτι ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ σὺν τῷ Ἀκιχωρίῳ παραγενέσθαι, τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς Δελφούς. οἱ δὲ καταφεύγουσιν ὑπὸ δείματος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ ὁ θεὸς σφᾶς οὐκ εἴα φοβεῖσθαι, φυλάξειν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

(2) Οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι τιμωρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τοσοίδε ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήνων· Φωκεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμφίσσης ὁπλῖται τετρακόσιοι· παρὰ δὲ Αἰτωλῶν ὀλίγοι μέν τινες αὐτίκα ὅτε ἐπύθοντο ἐς τὸ πρόσω χωροῦντας τοὺς βαρβάρους διακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους Φιλόμηλος ἤγαγεν ὕστερον. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐτράπετο ἐπὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀκιχωρίου στρατιάν, καὶ μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἦρχον, ὁδευόντων δὲ ἐπέκειντο ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἁρπάζοντες τε τὰ τῶν σκευαγωγούντων καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας φονεύοντες· καὶ ἡ πορεία κατὰ ταύτην μάλιστα ἐγίνετο σφισι βραδεῖα τὴν αἰτίαν. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ὁ Ἀκιχώριος μοῖραν, οἳ ἔμελλον φρουρήσειν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου χρήματα.

(3) Βρέννῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν θ' Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀθροισθέντες ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντεσήμαινε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχύ τε καὶ ὧν ἴσμεν φανερώτατα. ἥ τε γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα ὅσην ἐπεῖχεν ἡ τῶν Γαλατῶν στρατιὰ, βιαίως καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐσείετο τῆς ἡμέρας, βρονταί τε καὶ

succeeded, however, in reaching the main force in time to warn them of what was taking place before they were completely surrounded. Thus the Athenian fleet had time to transport the Greek army from Thermopylae; and so the men dispersed to their respective districts.

March direct on Delphi.

XII. (1) Brennus, without even waiting for the forces under Acichorius, made straight for Delphi. The terrified inhabitants fled to the oracle, and the god bade them to have no fear, 'for,' he replied, 'I will myself guard my own.'

(2) The Greeks who rallied to the defence of the god were as follows: The Phocians, who mustered from all their towns; four hundred infantry from Amphissa; and a very meagre company from Aetolia at first, but when they learned of the advance of the Barbarians, they dispatched twelve hundred men under Philomelus. The flower of the Aetolian troops, however, advanced against the army under Acichorius, and without giving battle hung on his rear, capturing his baggage and cutting off the men in charge of it, thus seriously impeding his march. He had, besides, left a force at Heraclea to guard the spoils there.

Gods help Greeks in battle.

(3) Meanwhile the Greeks who had mustered at Delphi drew up in order of battle against the army of Brennus. And, lo! in the most unmistakable manner the god by signs and wonders marked his hostility to Brennus. In the first place the ground occupied by the Galatian army trembled violently

κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπληττόν τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκώλυον, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἐς ὅντινα κατασκήψαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐξῆπτε. τά τε τῶν ἡρώων τηνικαῦτά σφισιν ἐφάνη φάσματα,[1] ὁ Ὑπέροχος καὶ ὁ Λαόδοκός τε καὶ Πύῤῥος· οἱ δὲ καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Φύλακον ἐπιχώριον Δελφοῖς ἀπαριθμοῦσιν ἥρωα. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τῶν Φωκέων ἄλλοι τε ἀριθμὸν πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀλεξίμαχος, ὃς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἡλικίας τε τῷ ἀκμάζοντι καὶ ἰσχύϊ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἐῤῥωμένῳ τοῦ θυμοῦ κατεχρήσατο ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν φόνον. Φωκεῖς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀλεξιμάχου ποιησάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δελφούς· τοιούτοις μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν παθήμασί τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει συνείχοντο, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολλῷ σφᾶς ἔμελλεν ἀλγεινότερα ἐπιλήψεσθαι· ῥῖγός τε γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ νιφετὸς ἦν ὁμοῦ τῷ ῥίγει, πέτραι τε ἀπολισθάνουσαι τοῦ Παρνασοῦ μεγάλαι καὶ κρημνοὶ καταῤῥηγνύμενοι σκοπὸν τοὺς βαρβάρους εἶχον, καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ ἕνα ἢ δύο, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τριάκοντα καὶ ἔτι πλείοσιν, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φρουροῦντες ἢ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι τύχοιεν, ἀθρόοις ἡ ἀπώλεια ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τῶν κρημνῶν.

(4) Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπῆεσάν σφισιν ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα εὐθεῖαν, οἱ Φωκεῖς δὲ ἅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ἔχοντες τῶν χωρίων ἐμπείρως κατέβησάν τε διὰ τῆς χιόνος κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τοῦ Παρνασοῦ καὶ ἔλαθον κατὰ νώτου γενόμενοι τοῖς Κελτοῖς, ἠκοντιζόν τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐτόξευον σὺν οὐδενὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δείματι. οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένης μὲν τῆς μάχης, καὶ

[1] Cf. the similar stories in Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Bk. ii. chap. iv., Bk. v. chaps. ii., iv.

during most of the day; then thunder rolled and lightning flashed without respite, which stupefied the Celts and prevented them from hearing the words of command; while the lightning not only struck down isolated individuals, but set on fire all about them, men and arms alike. Then there appeared to them phantoms of the heroes[1] Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus, and some will add a fourth, to wit, Phylacus, a local hero of Delphi. Many of the Phocians fell in the action, and amongst them Alexamachus, who more than any other Greek brought death to the Barbarians that day by his youthful strength and daring courage. The Phocians afterwards had his statue dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. Such was the terror that beset the Barbarians that long day; and during the night their plight was even worse. It was bitterly cold and snowed hard, and great boulders, slipping down from Parnassus, with huge crags breaking off, seemed to make straight for the Barbarians, crushing to death in one onset, not one or two, but thirty or more, as they chanced to be gathered together on watch, or in slumber.

(4) At break of day the Greeks advanced from Delphi. All marched direct upon them except the Phocians, who were familiar with the ground. These descended the steep slopes of Parnassus through the snow, and falling unexpectedly on the rear of the Celts, discharged their darts and arrows on the Barbarians in perfect security. At first—despite the

μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βρέννον,[1] (οὗτοι δὲ μήκιστοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν Γαλατῶν) τότε μὲν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἔτι ἀντεῖχον βαλλόμενοί τε πανταχόθεν καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ὑπὸ του ῥίγους, μάλιστα οἱ τραυματίαι, ταλαιπωροῦντες. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Βρέννος ἔλαβε τραύματα, ἐκεῖνον μὲν λιποψυχήσαντα ἐκκομίζουσιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπέφευγόν τε ἄκοντες καὶ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἀδυνάτους διὰ τραύματα ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἀῤῥωστίαν φονεύουσιν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔνθα ἡ νὺξ κατελάμβανεν ἀναχωροῦντας, (5) ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ φόβος σφίσιν ἐμπίπτει Πανικός· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς δείματα ἐκ τούτου φασὶ γίνεσθαι. ἐνέπεσε μὲν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἡ παραχὴ περὶ βαθεῖαν τὴν ἑσπέραν, καὶ ὀλίγοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγένοντο οἱ παραχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ, ἐδοξαξόν τε οὗτοι κτύπου τε ἐπελαυνομένων ἵππων καὶ ἐφόδου πολεμίων αἰσθάνεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας διέδρα ἡ ἄγνοια. ἀναλαβόντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διαστάντες ἔκτεινόν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκτείνοντο, οὔτε γλώσσης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου συνιέντες, οὔτε τὰς ἀλλήλων μορφὰς, οὐτὲ τῶν θυρεῶν καθορῶντες τὰ σχήματα· ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς τάξεσιν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγνοίας οἵ τε ἄνδρες οἱ ἀνθεστηκότες εἶναί σφισιν Ἕλληνες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Ἑλλάδα ἀφιέναι τὴν φωνήν· ἥ τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μανία πλεῖστον ἐξειργάσατο ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς Γαλάταις τὸν φόνον. τῶν δὲ Φωκέων ὅσοι κατελείποντο κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φυλακῆς βοσκημάτων ἕνεκα, πρῶτοί τε ἤσθοντο καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατασχόντα τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἀναθαρσήσαντες δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς προθυμότερον ἔτι ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Κελτοῖς, διὰ φυλακῆς τε

[1] *Vide* Index *sub* Bodyguard.

cross-fire, and the bitter cold, that told on them no less severely than did the arrows of their enemies, especially on the wounded—the Celts fought with conspicuous bravery, notably the guard of Brennus,[1] the finest and bravest men of them all. But when Brennus was wounded and carried fainting off the field, the Barbarians, beset on all sides, sorely against their will beat a retreat, dispatching those of their companions who by reason of their wounds and exhausted condition could not join in the retreat. (5) These fugitives bivouacked on the spot where night overtook them During the night a new terror seized them: groundless fears they say are inspired by Pan. It was late in the evening when the panic first arose in the army, and at first it was confined to a few who fancied that they detected the trampling of charging horses and the onset of the enemy; but soon the alarm spread through the whole army. They snatched up their weapons and dealt out death to one another. They did not recognise their own language, nor one another's features, nor the shape of their shields; each one in his alarm fancying that his adversary was a Greek, that his armour was Greek, and that his tongue was Greek. Thus the god-inspired panic wrought horrible mutual slaughter in the Celtic force. The Phocians who were left in the fields to guard the cattle were the first to notice and report to the Greeks what had befallen the Barbarians during the night. This nerved the Phocians to press the Celts more vigorously than ever,

πλέονος τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τὰ ἐς βίου χρείαν οὐ περιεώρων σφᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀμαχεὶ λαμβάνοντας· ἐγεγόνει τε αὐτίκα τοῖς Γαλάταις διὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅσα ἐς τροφὴν ἄλλα ἔνδεια ἰσχυρά.

(6) Πλῆθος δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι αὐτῶν ἀναλωθὲν ὀλίγῳ μὲν ἐξακισχιλίων ἐλάσσονες οἱ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ χειμερίῳ διαφθαρέντες νυκτὶ καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανικῷ δείματι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ [τοὺς] μυρίους, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

(7) Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἄνδρες ἐπισκεψόμενοι μὲν ἀφίκοντο τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς· τότε δὲ ἐπανήκοντες τά τε ἄλλα ἤγγελλον ὁποῖα συμβεβήκει τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατειληφότα. οἱ δὲ αὐτοί τε ἐξεστρατεύοντο, καὶ ὡς τὴν Βοιωτίαν διώδευον οἱ Βοιωτοί σφισιν ἀνεμίχθησαν· οὕτω δὴ ἀμφότεροι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐλόχων τε καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐσχάτους. τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ὁμοῦ τῷ Βρέννῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκιχώριον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἀνεμίχθησαν· βραδεῖαν γὰρ τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησάν σφισιν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τοῖς τε ἀκοντίοις ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον καὶ ὅτῳ τύχοιεν καὶ ἄλλῳ χρώμενοι· ὥστε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ηρακλείᾳ μοῖρα οὐ πολλὴ διέφυγεν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

(8) Τῷ δὲ Βρέννῳ κατὰ μὲν τὰ τραύματα ἐλείπετο ἔτι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς· τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν φόβῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ αἰδοῖ πλέον, ἅτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κακῶν αἴτιον, ἑκουσίως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκράτου πίνοντα τοῦ οἴνου.[1] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι μεχρι μὲν τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ χαλεπῶς ἐκομίσθησαν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν βιαίως σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων, ὡς δὲ

[1] Justin says 'after wine' (xxiv. c. 8, § 11). Diodorus says 'with a sword' (xxii. c. 9, § 2).

and to strengthen their guards on the cattle, so that the Celts might not get supplies without a hard struggle. This produced a scarcity of corn and all other necessaries in the Galatian army.

(6) The losses in Phocis amounted to nearly six thousand in battle, over ten thousand in the cruel winter night and its panic, and as many more from famine.

(7) Some Athenians who had gone to Delphi to reconnoitre brought back an account of what had befallen the Barbarians, and of the panic the god had inspired among them. On receipt of this news the Athenians marched through Boeotia, where the Boeotians joined them. Their united forces hung on the march of the Barbarians, lying in ambush for them, and cutting off the stragglers. The fugitives with Brennus had been joined by the army under Acichorius only the night before; for the advance of the latter had been made tedious by the Aetolians, who hurled freely at them javelins and all kinds of weapons that came to their hands, so that only a small part of them escaped to the camp at Heraclea.

Suicide of Brennus.

(8) Brennus, they say—although his wounds were not of a fatal character—either through fear of his countrymen, or perhaps rather through wounded pride at being the author of this disastrous campaign in Greece, put an end to his life by drinking neat wine.[1] Eventually the Barbarians, with no little difficulty, made their way to the river Spercheus, hotly pressed by the Aetolians. Onward from the Spercheus

ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Σπερχειὸν οἱ ἐντεῦθεν ὑποκαθήμενοι Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς ἐνεφορήθησαν οὕτω σφῶν ὡς μηδένα οἴκαδε ἀποσωθῆναι.[1]

(9) *Ἐγένετο δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν στρατεία τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια Ἀναξικράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἣν Λάδας Αἰγιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ἐφεξῆς Δημοκλέους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνουσιν οἱ Κελτοί. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γενόμενα ἴστω τις.*

(*Idem*, x. 23.)

XIII. Ibi domitis Pannoniis per multos annos cum finitimis varia bella gesserunt. Hortante deinde successu divisis agminibus alii Graeciam, alii Macedoniam, omnia ferro proterentes, petivere. Tantusque terror Gallici nominis erat, ut etiam reges non lacessiti ultro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur.

(*Justin*, xxiv. 4.)

XIV. Solus rex Macedoniae Ptolemaeus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hisque cum paucis et incompositis, quasi bella non difficilius quam scelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furiis agitatus occurrit. . . . Igitur Galli duce Belgio ad tentandos Macedonum animos legatos ad Ptolemaeum mittunt, offerentes pacem, si emere velit; sed Ptolemaeus inter suos belli metu pacem Gallos petere gloriatus est. Nec minus ferociter se legatis quam inter

[1] This is an exaggeration: in next paragraph some are made to cross to Asia. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, § 5, where *most* of the Galati are made to cross to Asia and settle finally in Galatia; also cf. *infra*, excerpt. XIX., XXI. *Vide* Index *sub* Galatians.

the Thessalians and Malians lay in wait, and set on them with such vigour that not a man of them returned home.[1]

(9) The expedition of the Celts into Greece and their annihilation took place when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, in which Ladas of Aegium won the footrace. Next year, in the archonship of Democles at Athens, the Celts crossed into Asia. I have faithfully set out the course of events.

Celts move towards Greece.

XIII. Having imposed their yoke on the Pannonians the Galati engaged in warfare for many years with their neighbours. Encouraged by their good fortune, they betook themselves in hordes, some to Greece and some to Macedonia, laying waste all before them with the sword. Such was the terror of the Gallic name that Kings, even before they were attacked, bought peace with large sums of money.

Wars in Macedonia (circa B.C. 281).

XIV. Ptolemy, King of Macedonia, was the one man who heard unmoved of the approach of the Gauls. The distracted butcher, thinking war required no more preparation than murders, went out to meet them with a few undisciplined troops. . . .

Belgius defeats Ptolemy.

The Gauls, under the command of Belgius, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy to discover the feeling among the Macedonians, and to offer peace if he elected to purchase it; but Ptolemy vaunted to his suite that the Gauls sued for peace from fear of war. Before the ambassadors he was no less boastful, and declared

amicos jactavit, aliter se pacem daturum negando, nisi principes suos obsides dederint et arma tradiderint: non enim fidem se nisi inermibus habiturum. Renuntiata legatione risere Galli, undique acclamantes, brevi sensurum, sibi an illi consulentes pacem obtulerint. Interiectis diebus proelium conseritur, victique Macedones caeduntur. Ptolemaeus multis vulneribus saucius capitur: caput eius amputatum et lancea fixum tota acie ad terrorem hostium circumfertur. Paucos ex Macedonibus fuga servavit: ceteri aut capti aut occisi.[1]

(*Justin*, xxiv. 4–5.)

XV. Haec quum nuntiata per omnem Macedoniam essent, portae urbium clauduntur, luctu omnia replentur. . . . Desperantibus omnibus non votis agendum Sosthenes, unus de Macedonum principibus, ratus contracta inventute et Gallos victoria exsultantes compescuit et Macedoniam ab hostili populatione defendit. Ob quae virtutis beneficia multis nobilibus regnum Macedoniæ adfectantibus ignobilis ipse praeponitur: et quum rex ab exercitu appellatus esset, ipse non in regis, sed ducis nomen iurare milites compulit.

(*Justin*, xxiv. 5.)

XVI. Interea Brennus, quo duce portio Gallorum in Graeciam se effuderat, audita victoria suorum, qui

[1] Cf. Polybius, excerpt. LIX.: and *supra*, p. 95, II., p. 101, V. VII.

that he would grant peace only on the condition that they gave their chiefs as hostages, and delivered up their arms: for he could put no trust in them until they were disarmed. On the announcement of this answer by the deputies, the Gauls laughed, and remarked that he would soon see whether they had offered peace for his sake or for their own. A few days later the Macedonians were defeated and cut to pieces in a battle. Ptolemy, severely wounded, was captured; his severed head was placed on a lance, and carried round the whole army to strike terror into the enemy. A few of the Macedonians found safety in flight; the rest were captured or slain.[1]

But is repulsed by Sosthenes.

XV. When this news was spread throughout Macedonia, the gates of the cities were shut, and mourning filled all the land. . . . While all were thus in despair, Sosthenes, one of the Macedonian chiefs, thinking that nothing would be effected by prayers, mustered the young men fit to bear arms, repulsed the Gauls in the midst of their exultations on their victory, and saved Macedonia from devastation. For these great services he was chosen before many nobles who aspired to the Macedonian throne, although he was of but humble extraction. He was saluted as King by the army, yet nevertheless he made the soldiers take an oath to him, not as King, but as general.

Brennus invades Macedonia.

XVI. In the meanwhile Brennus, under whose command a division of the Gauls had made an

Belgio duce Macedonas vicerant, indignatus parta victoria opimam praedam et Orientis spoliis onustam tam facile relictam esse, ipse adunatis centum quinquaginta millibus peditum et quindecim millibus equitum in Macedoniam irrumpit. Quum agros villasque popularetur, occurrit ei cum instructo exercitu Macedonum Sosthenes: sed pauci a pluribus, trepidi a valentibus facile vincuntur. Itaque quum victi se Macedones intra muros urbium condidissent, victor Brennus nemine prohibente totius Macedoniae agros depraedatur. Inde quasi terrena iam spolia sorderent, animum ad deorum immortalium templa convertit, scurriliter iocatus *locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere.* Statim igitur Delphos iter vertit, praedam religioni, aurum offensae deorum immortalium praeferens: *quos nullis opibus egere, ut qui eas largiri hominibus soleant,* adfirmabat.[1]

(*Justin,* xxiv. 6.)

XVII. Inter duos reges, Antigonum et Antiochum, statuta pace, quum in Macedoniam Antigonus reverteretur, novus eidem repente hostis exortus est. Quippe Galli, qui a Brenno duce, quum in Graeciam proficisceretur, ad terminos gentis tuendos relicti fuerant, ne soli desides viderentur, peditum quindecim millia, equitum tria millia armaverunt, fugatisque Getarum Triballorumque copiis Macedoniae

[1] Justin's account of the operations at Delphi agrees with that given by Pausanias, and is not quoted. Justin, however, mentions two Celtic chieftains who do not appear in Pausanias, namely, Emanus and Thessalorus (*Justin,* xxiv. c. vii.).

irruption into Greece, heard of the success of the division which, under Belgius, had defeated the Macedonians; and incensed that so rich a booty, consisting of the spoils of the East, had been carelessly abandoned, assembled an army of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse, and suddenly invaded Macedonia. As he was laying waste the fields and villages, Sosthenes met him with his army of Macedonians in full array, but their inferior numbers and faint hearts fell an easy prey to the numerous and fearless Gauls. The vanquished Macedonians retired behind their city walls, while the victorious Brennus, meeting with no opposition, ravaged the whole of Macedonia. Then, as though the spoils of mortals were too mean for him, he turned to the temples of the gods with the profane jest: that the gods, being rich, ought to be liberal to men. He suddenly, therefore, marched on Delphi, putting plunder before religion, and risking the wrath of the gods for gold. The gods, he said, stood in no need of riches, for they were accustomed rather to bestow them on mortals.[1]

Defeats Sosthenes.

Turns towards Delphi.

XVII. After peace was made between the two kings, Antigonus and Antiochus, a new enemy suddenly confronted Antigonus as he was returning to Macedonia. The Gauls, whom Brennus had left behind him to defend their frontiers when he set out for Greece, in order not to appear idle, armed 15,000 foot and 3,000 horse. They routed the forces of the Getae and Triballi, and were making preparations to invade Macedonia when they sent

imminentes, legatos ad regem miserunt, qui pacem ei venalem offerrent, simul et regis castra specularentur. Quos Antigonus pro regali munificentia ingenti apparatu epularum ad coenam invitavit. . . . Itaque legati ad suos reversi omnia in maius extollentes, opes pariter et negligentiam regis ostendunt. . . .

(*Justin*, xxv. 1.)

XVIII. Hac relatione avidae gentis animi satis ad praedam incitabantur ; accedebat tamen et exemplum Belgii, qui non magno ante tempore Macedonum exercitum cum rege trucidaverat. Itaque consentientibus omnibus nocte castra regis adgrediuntur : qui praesentiens tantam tempestatem signum pridie dederat, ut omnibus rebus ablatis in proxima silva taciti se occultarent. Neque aliter servata castra, quam quod deserta sunt : siquidem Galli, ubi omnia vacantia nec sine defensoribus modo, verum etiam sine custodibus vident, non fugam hostium, sed dolum arbitrantes, diu intrare portas timuerunt. Ad postremum integris et intactis munimentis scrutantes potius quam diripientis castra occupaverunt. Tunc ablatis quae invenerant, ad litus convertuntur. Ibi dum naves incautius diripiunt, a remigibus et ab exercitus parte, quae eo cum coniugibus et liberis confugerant, nihil tale metuentes trucidantur : tantaque caedes Gallorum fuit, ut Antigono pacem opinio

ambassadors to Antigonus to offer him peace if he would pay for it, and at the same time to act as spies in his camp. Antigonus, with kingly generosity, invited them to a sumptuous banquet. . . . The ambassadors on their return set forth with much exaggeration the wealth and unsuspicious nature of the King. . . .

XVIII. This story was sufficient to urge this covetous people to seize the booty. The example of Belgius, too, had its influence with them, who, a little before, had cut to pieces the Macedonian army and their King. With the consent of all they attacked the King's camp at night; but, foreseeing the storm that threatened him, the King had ordered his soldiers to remove all their baggage, and to conceal themselves noiselessly in a neighbouring wood. Finding the camp not only without defenders, but even without sentinels, the Gauls suspected a stratagem rather than a flight, and for some time hesitated to enter the gates. Finally, leaving the defences entire and untouched, they took possession of the camp, more after the fashion of explorers than of plunderers. Then, carrying off what they found there, they proceeded towards the coast. Here, while they plundered the vessels without taking precautions, and when they least feared an attack, they were cut down by the sailors and part of the army that had fled thither with their wives and children. Such was the slaughter among them that the report of this success secured peace for Antigonus, not

huius victoriae non a Gallis tantum, verum etiam a finitimorum feritate praestiterit.

(*Justin*, XXV. 2.)

XIX. Quamquam Gallorum ea tempestate tantae fecunditatis iuventus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent. Denique neque reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu ulla bella gesserunt; neque pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerunt. Tantus terror Gallici nominis et armorum invicta felicitas erat, ut aliter neque maiestatem suam tutari neque amissam recuperare se posse sine Gallica virtute arbitrarentur. Itaque in auxilium a Bithyniae rege invocati, regnum cum eo, parta victoria, diviserunt; eamque regionem Gallograeciam cognominaverunt.[1]

(*Justin*, XXV. 2.)

XX. Antigonus autem cum paucis equitibus, fugae comitibus, repente fortunæ ornamentis destitutus, amissi regni speculaturus eventus, Thessalonicam se recepit: ut inde cum conducta Gallorum mercenaria manu bellum repararet.[2]

(*Justin*, XXV. 3.)

XXI. Interea Antigonus quum multiplici bello et Ptolemaei regis et Spartanorum premeretur; novusque illi hostis Gallograeciae exercitus adfluxisset: in speciem castrorum parva manu adversus ceteros relicta adversus Gallos totis viribus proficiscitur. Quibus cognitis Galli, quum et ipsi se proelio pararent,

[1] Cf. p. 97.

[2] Cf. p. 99, excerpt. IV.

only from the Gauls, but also from his other fierce neighbours.

XIX. The Gallic people were at that time so prolific that they filled Asia as with one swarm. Then, indeed, no Eastern king carried on a war without Gallic mercenaries; nor, if they were driven from their thrones, did they seek any protection but that of the Gauls. Such was the terror of the Gallic name, and such the unbroken success of their arms, that princes believed that without the aid of the Gaul's valour they could neither maintain their power, nor, if lost, recover it. Thus it was that, on being summoned to the aid of the King of Bithynia and having brought him victory, they shared his kingdom with him, and called their part Gallo-graecia.[1]

XX. Antigonus (*after his defeat by Pyrrhus*), B.C. 273–272 divesting himself at once of all the marks of royalty, repaired to Thessalonica, with a few horsemen who attended his flight, there to watch what would follow on the loss of his throne, and to renew the war with Gallic mercenaries.[2]

XXI. Meanwhile Antigonus was harassed with B.C. 271. diverse wars with the Spartans and King Ptolemy. Beholding a new enemy, in the shape of an army from Gallograecia, he left a few troops as a semblance of a camp to occupy his other foes, and proceeded with all the rest of his forces against the Gauls; who, learning of his approach, offered sacrifices, as they were getting ready for battle, to take presages

in auspicia pugnae hostias caedunt. . . . Tanta strages fuit, ut pariter cum hominibus dii consensisse in exitium parricidarum viderentur.

(*Justin*, xxvi. 2.)

TIMAEUS

Timaeus was born in Sicily about B.C. 354. He spent most of his life in Athens, where he died about B.C. 256. He was an industrious writer and composed a history which treated in the first part of Italy and Sicily, and in the second, of Sicily and Greece. It ran

I. Οὐκ ὀλίγοι γὰρ τῶν τε ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Τίμαιος, φασὶ, τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δέρατος ἁρπαγὴν, πυθομένους ὑπ' Αἰήτου προκατειλῆφθαι ναυσὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου, πρᾶξιν ἐπιτελέσασθαι παράδοξον καὶ μνήμης ἀξίαν. Ἀναπλεύσαντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ κατὰ τόπον τινὰ τὴν ναῦν διελκύσαντας, καθ' ἑτέρου πάλιν ποταμοῦ, τὴν ῥύσιν ἔχοντος εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν, καταπλεῦσαι

for the event. . . . Such was the slaughter among them (*the Galati*) that the gods seemed to have conspired with men to annihilate the murderous horde.

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into some seventy-six books, of which only fragments remain to us. These are collected in C. and Th. Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. i. pp. l–liv, 193–233. He seems to have followed Pytheas in his description of Northern Europe.

I. Many historians, both ancient and modern, including Timaeus, maintain that when the Argonauts had won the golden fleece they learnt that Aeetes was blockading the Black Sea, and that this circumstance was the occasion of an unusual and notable action on their part: they penetrated to the sources of the Tanais, and drawing their ship to land, carried it to another river which discharged itself into the Ocean, and thus they regained the sea: with the land on their left, they continued their voyage from the north to the

πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄρκτων ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν κομισθῆναι, τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας ἐξ εὐωνύμων, καὶ πλησίον γενομένους Γαδείρων εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν εἰσπλεῦσαι. Ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φέρουσι, δεικνύντες τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας Κέλτας σεβομένους μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν τοὺς Διοσκούρους·[1] παραδόσιμον γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων τὴν τούτων τῶν θεῶν παρουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ γεγενημένην. (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 56.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 194, Frag. 6.)

II. Γαλατία, χώρα ὠνομάσθη, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, ἀπὸ Γαλάτου, κύκλωπος καὶ Γαλατίας υἱοῦ. (*Etym. M.*; cf. Diodorus Siculus, v. 24.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 200, Frag. 37.)

ERATOSTHENES

Eratosthenes was librarian at Alexandria B.C. 247–222. He made a Greek translation of Himilco's work (*v. supra*, pp. 9–13), and also commented on the works of Pytheas, in whom he had much confidence. His only knowledge of the Celts was derived from these writers and has been already dealt with.

[1] In the Musée Cluny is an altar on which is represented two gods which probably correspond to the Castor and Pollux of Roman mythology. Their Celtic names are respectively *Cernunnos* and *Smertullos*: cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, xiii. p. 467, No. 3026 c. These gods appear in old Irish literature: *vide* Whitney Stokes, in *Revue Celtique*, iii. p. 175. Also see Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, v. pp. 347–353, and pp. 253–254: cf. *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 84.

west, and came to the straits of Gibraltar, where they entered the Mediterranean. And to convince one of this, the historians add that the Celts who dwell on the shores of the Ocean pay homage especially to the Dioscuri : [1] for there is a tradition among these peoples that in olden times these gods came to them from the Ocean.

II. According to Timaeus the country is called Galatia after Galatos, the son of the Cyclops and Galatia.

Polybius and Strabo criticise him for not mentioning the Celts in his description of Spain. But he is evidently dealing with the Spain of Himilco of B.C. 500. When describing the Spain of his own time, he says that it was held by the Celts with the exception of Cadiz. For references to Eratosthenes in other writers see Index *sub* Eratosthenes.

PHYLARCHUS

Phylarchus was born probably at Naucratis in Egypt about B.C. 210. He wrote a history in twenty-eight books dealing with the events between the death

I. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ ὁ αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος Ἀριάμνην φησὶ τὸν Γαλάτην πλουσιώτατον ὄντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι ἑστιᾶσαι Γαλάτας πάντας ἐνιαυτὸν, καὶ τοῦτο συντελέσαι ποιήσαντα οὕτως· κατὰ τόπους τῆς χώρας τὰς ἐπικαιροτάτας τῶν ὁδῶν διέλαβε σταθμοῖς, ἐπί τε τούτοις ἐκ χαράκων καὶ τῶν καλάμων τῶν τε οἰσυΐνων ἐπεβάλλετο σκηνὰς χωρούσας ἀνὰ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, καὶ πλείους ἔτι, καθὼς ἂν ἐκποιῶσιν οἱ τόποι τό τ' ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δέξασθαι, καὶ τῶν κωμῶν μέλλον ἐπιῤῥεῖν πλῆθος. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ λέβητας ἐπέστησε κρεῶν παντοδαπῶν μεγάλους, οὓς πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μέλλειν μεταπεμψάμενος τεχνίτας ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων ἐχαλκεύσατο· θύματα δὲ καταβάλλεσθαι ταύρων καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτων τε καὶ λοιπῶν κτηνῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πολλὰ, πίθους τε οἴνου παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πλῆθος ἀλφίτων πεφυραμένων. καὶ οὐ μόνον, φησιν, οἱ παραγινόμενοι τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπέλαυον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παριόντες ξένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων παίδων οὐκ ἠφίεντο, εὖς ἂν μεταλάβωσι τῶν παρασκευασθέντων. (Athenaeus, iv. 34.)

(Frag. Hist. Graec. vol. i. p. 334, Frag. 2.)

II. Παρὰ δὲ Γαλάταις φησὶ Φύλαχος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ, ἐν ταῖς τραπέζαις ἄρτους πολλοὺς κατακεκλασμένους παρατίθεσθαι

of Pyrrhus (B.C. 272) and the death of Cleomenes of Lacedaemonia (B.C. 220). Only fragments of his works are now extant. See Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. i. pp. lxxvii-lxxxi, 334–358.

Hospitality among Celtic chiefs.

I. In his third book Phylarchus writes that 'Ariamnes the Galatian, a man of fabulous wealth, publicly proclaimed that he would give a banquet every year to all the Galati, which he did in the following manner. He divided out the country by marking off convenient distances along the roads. At these points he built halls of timber, rushes, and osiers, capable of accommodating four hundred men, or more, according as the district and the towns and villages near it might require. In the hall he placed huge kettles full of every sort of meat. The kettles were made the year before he was to give the feast by artisans sent from other cities. He then provided many oxen, pigs, sheep, and other animals for each day, and also casks of wine, and a large supply of flour. And not only,' he continues, 'did all the Galati who came from the villages and cities enjoy his hospitality, but even the strangers, who chanced to pass by, were not permitted escape, for the servants who stood round pressed them to enter and partake of the good things provided.'

II. Among the Galati, Phylarchus states in his sixth book, it is customary to place on the table a large number of loaves broken carelessly, and meat

χύδην καὶ κρέα ἐκ τῶν λεβήτων, ὧν οὐδεὶς γεύεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον θεάσηται τὸν βασιλέα, εἰ ἥψατο τῶν παρακειμένων. (Athenaeus, iv. 34.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 336, Frag. 11.)

III. Φύλαρχος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἢ Ναυκρατίτης, ἐν οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ Ζηλᾶ τοῦ Βιθυνῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ καλέσας τοὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγεμόνας, ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς διεφθάρη, φησὶν οὕτως, εἰ μνήμης εὐτυχῶ· "Προπομά τι πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου περιεφέρετο, καθὼς εἰώθει τὸ πρῶτον." (Athenaeus, ii. 51.)

(*Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 341, Frag. 32.)

FABIUS PICTOR

Q. Fabius Pictor was born B.C. 254. He served in the Gallic war of B.C. 225, and was the first Roman to wrote a history of his native city. The fragments of this work are collected by H. Peter in his *Historicorum Romanorum Relliquiae* and also in his *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta.*

I. *Oros.* iv. 13, 5. L. Aemilio Catulo C. Atilio Regulo consulibus magna formidine consternatus est senatus defectione Cisalpinae Galliae, cum etiam ex ulteriore Gallia ingens aduentare exercitus nuntiaretur, maxime Gaesatorum, quod nomen non geniis sed mercennariorum Gallorum est. Itaque permoti consules totius Italiae ad praesidium imperii contraxere uires.

just taken out of the kettle. No one touches this without first waiting to see if the king partakes of what is brought to him.

III. Phylarchus, the Athenian (some, indeed, say he is a native of Naucratis), in the work in which he treats of Zelas the king of the Bithynians, who invited to supper all the leaders of the Galati, and then plotted against them but was himself killed also, says, if I recollect his works correctly, 'a certain προποµα B.C. 236. was brought round before supper, as a time-honoured custom prescribed.'

His work was largely used by later historians, especially for the history of the Second Punic War (B.C. 219–202), but as the classical writers did not acknowledge their sources except in a general way, it is not possible to determine their exact obligations to Pictor.

I. In the consulship of L. Aemilius Catulo and C. B.C. 225. Atilius Regulus the Senate was greatly perturbed by the revolt of Cisalpine Gaul. The news came that a formidable army consisting chiefly of Gaesati was advancing from Further Gaul. 'Gaesati' is not a national name but a word for Gallic mercenaries.[1] The consuls in alarm called out the whole strength of Italy for the defence of the empire, so that in the

[1] *Vide* Polybius, excerpt. XVI.

Quo facto in utriusque consulis exercitu octingenta milia armatorum fuisse referuntur, sicut Fabius historicus, qui eidem bello interfuit, scripsit. Ex quibus Romanorum et Campanorum fuerunt peditum CCCXLVIII milia ducenti, equitum uero XXVI milia sescenti; cetera multitudo sociorum fuit. = *Eutrop.* iii. 5. L. Aemilio consule ingentes Gallorum copiae Alpes transierunt, sed pro Romanis tota Italia consensit, traditumque est a Fabio historico, qui ei bello interfuit, DCCC milia hominum parata ad id bellum fuisse. Sed res per consulem tantum prospere gesta est. XL milia hostium interfecta sunt et triumphus Aemilio decretus.

(*Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, p. 30, frag. 23.)

army of the two consuls there were said to have been eight hundred thousand men in arms, as Fabius the historian, who took part himself in this war, has written: and of this number there were of Roman and Campanian foot three hundred and forty-eight thousand; of horse, twenty-six thousand six hundred = *Eutrop.* iii. 5. In the consulship of L. Aemilius immense bands of Gauls crossed the Alps, but the whole of Italy united with Rome, and Fabius the historian, who took part in this war, writes that eight hundred thousand men were levied for this campaign, which was conducted so successfully by the consul that forty thousand of the enemy were slain, and a triumph granted to Aemilius.

POLYBIUS

Polybius (born circa 203 B.C., died circa 121 B.C.) is the most important and trustworthy authority we have for the history of the period of which he treats.

For him the object of historical study was the discovery of the truth;[1] thus only could history become a guide to statesmen and people.[2] Rhetoric did not appeal to him, and his literary style shows him to have been a man who wrote 'straight on,' intent only on the matter of his composition. Free from the spell of rhetoric, he was equally free from racial prejudice. A patriotic Greek, he incurred a sentence of seventeen years' exile in Rome (B.C. 166–149). This time was spent in the study of the records preserved in the Roman archives, in acquiring the friendship of the important men of Rome, and in hunting, a pastime of which he was passionately fond. To an outlook free from prejudice, and to a genuine love of truth, he joined a thoroughly modern method of historical research. History above all must explain the existing situation, and this renders an investigation of the past necessary. For this investigation Polybius is not satisfied with the compilations of previous historians, but examines anew the most authentic records available. Thus we find him examining the archives at Rome,[3] at

[1] *Polybius* (Hultsch's edition), i. c. 14; xii. c. 7.
[2] *Idem*, i. 35; ii. 35; iii. 31; v. 75.
[3] *Dionysius Halic.*, i. 17; *Polybius*, iii. 22.

Rhodes,[1] at Carthage,[2] and at Alexandria.[3] When he reaches the events that took place within the memory of his contemporaries, he seeks out the surviving actors in these events, and to quote his phrase, 'could therefore relate what he had seen or what he had heard from eye-witnesses.'[4] For the later period he was himself 'not only an eye-witness, but in some cases an actor, and in others the chief actor.'[5] Polybius held that to the historian of military affairs a knowledge of military operations was indispensable, and was himself a student of military tactics,[6] and qualified for the position of Hipparch, to which he was elected in B.C. 169.[7] Besides the part he took in the wars of the Archaean League, he accompanied the Roman armies to Spain about B.C. 149–146, or in B.C. 134–133,[8] or perhaps on both occasions. While there he examined the tablet placed by Hannibal on the Lacinian promontory;[9] followed the pass of the Alps made by Hannibal;[10] conversed with the peoples of the Alps and Cisalpine Gaul;[11] and visited the sites of various battles; and travelled in Transalpine Gaul, Italy, Africa, Asia Minor, Egypt, and perhaps even to the British Isles.[12] The account he gives of the Celts was written before the orations, delivered at Rome at the funerals of

[1] *Polybius*, xvi. 15. [2] *Idem*, ix. 25. [3] *Idem*, xxxiv. c. 14.
[4] *Idem*, iv. 2. [5] *Idem*, iii. 4.
[6] *Idem*, ix. c. 12 *et seq.* [7] *Idem*, xxviii. c. 6.
[8] *Idem*, iii. 59; ix. c. 25; xxxix. c. 3; Pliny, *N. H.*, v. § 9.
[9] *Idem*, iii. c. 33. [10] *Idem*, iii. c. 48.
[11] *Excerpt.* LXVIII. and note.
[12] *Polybius*, iii. c. 59; ix. c. 25; x. c. 1; xxxiv. c. 14

distinguished citizens, had invented and popularised the fictions that make up so much of Livy's account of the Gallic invasion of Italy (*vide* Livy, vol. ii.). For the correction of these fictions Polybius is very valuable. His account of the Celts is the result of long and careful research. His history of the period from B.C. 250 to B.C. 121 may be considered as of original authority, and deserves the closest study at the hands of students of Celtic History.

The Greek text followed is that of Hultsch, and

I. Ἔτος μὲν οὖν ἐνειστήκει μετὰ μὲν τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν ἐννεακαιδέκατον, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἑκκαιδέκατον, ἐν ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου λεγομένην εἰρήνην πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν ἐκύρωσαν, καὶ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλέσποντον ποταμὸν μάχῃ νενικηκὼς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἕλληνας ἐπολιόρκει Ῥήγιον, Γαλάται δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἑλόντες αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην κατεῖχον πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου. πρὸς οὓς ποιησάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι σπονδὰς καὶ διαλύσεις εὐδοκουμένας Γαλάταις, καὶ γενόμενοι πάλιν ἀνελπίστως τῆς πατρίδος ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ λαβόντες οἷον ἀρχὴν τῆς συναυξήσεως, ἐπολέμουν ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς χρόνοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας.

(i. 6.)

by the kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan, London, the excellent translation of Polybius by Mr. E. Shuckburgh (in which Polybius expresses himself more clearly than he does in his native Greek) is quoted for the English version. Other books to consult are Strachan-Davidson, *Selections from Polybius* (Oxford, 1888); Capes, *History of the Archæan League* (London, 1888); Article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. viii.; and Engelmann, *Bibliotheca*.

I. It was in the nineteenth year after the sea-fight at Aegospotami, and the sixteenth before the battle of Leuctra; the year in which the Lacedaemonians made what is called the peace of Antalcidas with the King of Persia; the year in which the elder Dionysius was besieging Rhegium after beating the Italian Greeks on the river Elleporus; and in which the Gauls took Rome itself by storm and were occupying the whole of it except the Capitol. With these Gauls the Romans made a treaty and settlement which they were content to accept: and having thus become, contrary to all expectation, once more masters of their own country, they made a start in their career of expansion; and in the succeeding period engaged in various wars with their neighbours. B.C. 388.[1]

[1] 'This is according to the common computation 390 B.C.; but, in fact, the capture of Rome occurred in Ol. 98, 1 = 388 B.C., and has been thrown out of its proper place by the confusion of the Roman Calendar.' Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome* (English trans., London, 1901), vol. i. p. 428 note.

II. Τῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφόδου τῶν τε περὶ Δελφοὺς φθαρέντων καὶ περαιωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

(i. 6.)

III. Γενόμενοι δὲ παραδόξως ἁπάντων ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ ποιησάμενοι τοὺς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντας ὑφ' αὑτοὺς πλὴν Κελτῶν.

(i. 6.)

IV. Διὸ καὶ ξενολογήσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας χώρας πολλοὺς μὲν Λιγυστίνους καὶ Κελτούς, ἔτι δὲ πλείους τούτων Ἴβηρας, ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπέστειλαν.

(i. 17.)

V. Καρχηδονίους δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν οὐ μικρὸς οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτοις ἀποστάντας Λίβυας, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ὑπομείναντες φόβους τέλος οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους. . . .

Ὡς γὰρ θᾶττον ἐπιτελεσθεισῶν τῶν προειρημένων διαλύσεων ἀποκατέστησε τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἔρυκα δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ὁ Βάρκας, εὐθέως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγὸς Γέσκων ἐγίνετο περὶ τὸ περαιοῦν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην. προϊδόμενος δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἐμφρόνως ἐνεβίβαζε κατὰ μέρη διαιρῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλείμματα ποιῶν τῆς ἐξαποστολῆς, βουλόμενος ἀναστροφὴν διδόναι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς τὸ τοὺς καταπλεύσαντας καὶ μισθοδοτηθέντας τὰ προσοφειλόμενα τῶν ὀψωνίων φθάνειν ἀπαλλαττομένους ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἑξῆς περαιουμένους ἐπικαταλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γέσκων ἐχόμενος ταύτης τῆς ἐννοίας οὕτως ἐχείριζε τὰ κατὰ τὴν

II. This happened in the year before the Gauls invaded Greece, some of whom perished near Delphi, whilst others crossed into Asia. B.C. 281.

III. [*The Romans*] were wonderfully successful everywhere, and reduced to obedience all the tribes inhabiting Italy except the Celts. B.C. 274.

IV. Accordingly [*the Carthaginians*] enlisted mercenaries from over sea—a large number of Ligurians and Celts, and a still larger number of Iberians—and dispatched them to Sicily. B.C. 262.

V. Just about the same time [*the Carthaginians*] found themselves confronted by three enemies at once, their own mercenaries, the Numidians, and such Libyans as joined the former in their revolt. And this war proved to be neither insignificant nor contemptible. It exposed them to frequent and terrible alarms; and, finally, it became a question with them not merely of a loss of territory, but of their own bare existence, and of the safety of the very walls and buildings of their city. . . . The course of events at Carthage subsequent to the peace [*with Rome*] was as follows: As soon as possible after it was finally ratified Barcas withdrew the troops at Eryx to Lilybaeum, and then immediately laid down his command. Gesco, who was commandant of the town, proceeded to transport the soldiers into Libya. But foreseeing what was likely to happen, he very prudently embarked them in detachments, and did not send them all in one voyage. His object was to gain time for the Carthaginian government; so that one detachment

B.C. 241–238. Celtic and other mercenaries make war on the Carthaginians.

ἐξαποστολήν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰ μὲν οὐκ εὐπορούμενοι χρημάτων διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας δαπάνας, τὰ δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένοι παραιτήσεσθαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους μέρος τι τῶν προσοφειλομένων ὀψωνίων, ἐὰν καὶ συναθροίσωσι καὶ δέξωνται πάντας εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, παρακατεῖχον ἐκεῖ τοὺς καταπλέοντας διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ συνεῖχον ἐν τῇ πόλει. γινομένων δὲ πλειόνων ἀδικημάτων καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπιδόμενοι τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὴν συμβαίνουσαν ἀκρασίαν ἠξίωσαν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἕως ἂν ἑτοιμασθῇ μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὰς σιταρχίας αὐτοῖς, προσδέξωνται δὲ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους, ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντας εἴς τινα πόλιν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Σίκκαν, λαβόντας εἰς τὰ κατεπείγοντα χρυσοῦν ἕκαστον. . . . ἅμα δὲ ῥᾳθυμοῦντες, τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξελογίζοντο τὰ προσοφειλόμενα σφίσι τῶν ὀψωνίων ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ συγκεφαλαιούμενοι πολλαπλάσια τῶν καθηκόντων ταῦτ' ἔφασαν δεῖν ἀπαιτεῖν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους· πάντες δ' ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπισφαλεῖς τῶν καιρῶν παρακαλοῦντες σφᾶς ἐπεποίηντο, μεγάλας εἶχον ἐλπίδας καὶ μεγάλην προσδοκίαν τῆς ἐσομένης περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπανορθώσεως. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ συλλεχθῆναι πάντας εἰς τὴν Σίκκαν, καὶ παραγενόμενον Ἄννωνα τὸν ὑπάρχοντα στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ τότε τῶν Καρχηδονίων μὴ οἷον τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἐκπληροῦν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, λέγοντα τὸ βάρος τῶν φόρων

should come to shore, receive the pay due to them, and depart from Carthage to their own country, before the next detachment was brought across and joined them. In accordance with this scheme Gesco began the transportation of the troops. But the Government—partly because the recent expenses had reduced their finances to a low ebb, partly because they felt certain that, if they collected the whole force and entertained them at Carthage, they would be able to persuade the mercenaries to accept something less than the whole pay due to them—did not dismiss the detachments as they landed, but kept them massed in the city. But when this resulted in the commission of many acts of lawlessness by night and day, they began to feel uneasy at their numbers and their growing licentiousness; and required the officers, until such time as arrangements for discharging their pay should have been made, and the rest of the army should have arrived, to withdraw with all their men to a certain town called Sicca, receiving each a piece of gold for their immediate necessities. . . . And there, for lack of something better to do, some of them began calculating, always to their own advantage, the amount of pay due to them; and thus making out the total to be many times more than was really due, they gave out that this was the amount they ought to demand from the Carthaginians. Moreover, they all began to call to mind the promises made to them by the generals in their harangues, delivered on various occasions of special danger, and to entertain

καὶ τὴν καθόλου στενοχωρίαν τῆς πόλεως, ἐγχειρεῖν παραιτεῖσθαι μέρος τι τῶν ἐξ ὁμολόγου προσοφειλομένων ὀψωνίων, εὐθέως διαφορὰ καὶ στάσις ἐγεννᾶτο καὶ συνδρομαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ γένη ποτὲ δ' ὁμοῦ πάντων. ὡς δ' ἂν μήθ' ὁμοεθνῶν μήθ' ὁμογλώττων ὑπαρχόντων, ἦν ἀμιξίας καὶ θορύβου καὶ τῆς λεγομένης τύρβης πλῆρες τὸ στρατόπεδον. . . . ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἴβηρες οἱ δὲ Κελτοί, τινὲς δὲ Λιγυστῖνοι καὶ Βαλιαρεῖς, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ μιξέλληνες, ὧν οἱ πλείους αὐτόμολοι καὶ δοῦλοι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῶν ἦν Λίβυες. . . . διαπιστήσαντες δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόσιν, ἐξοργισθέντες δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ὥρμησαν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἀπέχοντες ὡς ἂν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια τῆς Καρχηδόνος, ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Τύνητι, πλείους ὄντες τῶν δισμυρίων. . . .

Πεφρονηματισμένων δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένων διὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας αὐτοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ στρατόπεδα κινδύνους μὴ οἷον Καρχηδονίους ἀντοφθαλμῆσαί ποτ' ἂν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδένα ῥᾳδίως. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ συγχωρῆσαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων αὐτοῖς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εὐθέως ἐπέβαινον καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἵππων ἀπῄτουν τὰς ἀξίας. προσδεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, πάλιν τῆς προσοφειλομένης σιτομετρίας ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου τὴν μεγίστην γεγονυῖαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τιμὴν

high hopes and great expectations of the amount of compensation which awaited them. The natural result followed. When the whole army was mustered at Sicca, and Hanno now appointed general in Libya, far from fulfilling these hopes and the promises they had received, talked on the contrary of the burden of the taxes and the embarrassment of the public finances; and actually endeavoured to obtain from them an abatement even from the amount of pay acknowledged to be due to them; excited and mutinous feelings at once began to manifest themselves. There were constant conferences hastily got together, sometimes among the separate nationalities, sometimes of the whole army; and there being no unity of race or language among them, the whole camp became a babel of confusion, a scene of murmuring tumult, and a veritable revel of misrule. . . . B.C. 241–238.

There were in the army Iberians and Celts, men from Liguria and the Balearic Islands, and a considerable number of half-bred Greeks, mostly deserters and slaves; while the main body consisted of Libyans. . . . They conceived a violent mistrust of their several commanders; and in a furious outburst of anger against the Carthaginians started towards the city, and pitched their camp about a hundred and twenty stades from Carthage, at the town of Tunes, to the number of over twenty thousand. . . . Their confidence in themselves was profound; and their engagements with the Roman legions in Sicily had convinced them, that not only was it impossible

ἔφασκον αὐτοὺς δεῖν κομίζεσθαι. καθόλου δ' ἀεί τι καινὸν προσεξεύρισκον, εἰς ἀδύνατον ἐκβάλλοντες τὴν διάλυσιν, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς καχέκτας καὶ στασιώδεις ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ δυνατὸν ὑπισχνουμένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, κατένευσαν ἐπιτρέψειν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐνὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ γεγονότων στρατηγῶν. . . . ἦν δέ τις Καμπανὸς ηὐτομοληκὼς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δοῦλος, ἔχων σωματικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τόλμαν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παράβολον, ὄνομα Σπένδιος. οὗτος εὐλαβούμενος μὴ παραγενόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης κομίσηται καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους αἰκισθεὶς διαφθαρῇ, πᾶν ἐτόλμα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν, σπουδάζων διακόψαι τὰς διαλύσεις τὰς πρὸς Καρχηδονίους. . . .

Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους καὶ Λιβυκὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πόλεμος διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. . . .

Ὁ δὲ Μάθως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱππακριτῶν πολιορκίας ἐπέμενεν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Αὐτάριτον τὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Σπένδιον ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὑπεναντίων συνεβούλευε, τὰ μὲν πεδία φεύγοντας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν

for the Carthaginians to face them in the field, but it would be difficult to find any nation in the world who could. Therefore when the Carthaginians conceded the point about their pay, they made a further claim for the value of the horses they had lost. When this too was conceded, they said they ought to receive the value of the rations of corn due to them from a long time previous, reckoned at the highest price reached during the war. And in short, the ill-disposed and mutinous among them being numerous, they always discovered some fresh demand that made it impossible to come to terms. Upon the Carthaginian government, however, pledging themselves to the full extent of their powers, they eventually agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of some one of the generals who had been actually engaged in Sicily. . . . But there was a certain Campanian in the army, a runaway Roman slave named Spendius, a man of extraordinary physical strength and reckless courage in the field. Alarmed lest his master should recover possession of him, and he should be put to death with torture, in accordance with the laws of Rome, this man exerted himself to the utmost in word and deed to break off the arrangement with the Carthaginians. . . . This was the origin of the Mercenary, or, as it is also called, the Libyan war. . . . Meanwhile Mathos himself was continuing the siege of Hippo Zarytus, and he now counselled Autaritus, the leader of the Galatae, and Spendius to stick close to the skirts of the enemy, avoiding the plains, because the enemy were

B.C. 241–238.

The war begins.

They besiege Hippo Zarytus.

παρὰ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ἱππέων καὶ θηρίων, ταῖς δ' ὑπωρείαις ἀντιπαράγοντας καὶ συνεπιτιθεμένους κατὰ τὰς ὑποπιπτούσας ἀεὶ δυσχερείας. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ταύταις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Νομάδας καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας ἐξέπεμπε, δεόμενος βοηθεῖν σφίσι καὶ μὴ καταπροΐεσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καιρούς. ὁ δὲ Σπένδιος προσλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Τύνητος ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν γενῶν τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους προῆγε, ταῖς ὑπωρείαις ἀντιπαράγων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ἔχων ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τοὺς μετ' Αὐταρίτου Γαλάτας, ὄντας εἰς δισχιλίους· τὸ γὰρ λοιπὸν μέρος αὐτῶν τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς συστήματος ηὐτομολήκει πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸν Ἔρυκα στρατοπεδείαις. . . .

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Λιβυκὸς πόλεμος εἰς τοιαύτην ἀγαγὼν περίστασιν Καρχηδονίους τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον κυριεῦσαι πάλιν τῆς Λιβύης τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι καταξίως· . . . τρία μὲν οὖν ἔτη καὶ τέτταράς που μῆνας ἐπολέμησαν οἱ μισθοφόροι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀκοῇ μαθόντες, πολύ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὠμότητι καὶ παρανομίᾳ διενηνοχότα·

(i. 65-88.)

VI. Διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τύχης πταίουσιν ἔλεος ἕπεται μετὰ συγγνώμης καὶ ἐπικουρία, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν αὑτῶν ἀβουλίαν ὄνειδος καὶ ἐπιτίμησις συνεξακολουθεῖ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. ἃ δὴ καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰκότως ἂν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις ἀπηντήθη. πρῶτον γὰρ τίς οὐκ ἂν τὴν

strong in cavalry and elephants, but marching parallel with them on the slopes of the mountains, and attacking them whenever they saw them in difficulties. While suggesting these tactics, he at the same time sent messengers to the Numidians and Libyans, entreating them to come to their aid, and not to let slip the opportunity of securing their own freedom. Accordingly, Spendius took with him a force of six thousand men, selected from each of the several nationalities at Tunes, and started, keeping along a line of hills parallel to the Carthaginians. Besides these six thousand men, he had two thousand Galatae under Autaritus, who were all that were left of the original number, the rest having deserted to the Romans during the period of the occupation of Eryx. . . . The war with the Libyans had indeed reduced Carthage to dreadful danger; but its termination enabled her not only to re-establish her authority over Libya, but also to inflict condign punishment upon the authors of the revolt. . . . For three years and four months did the mercenaries maintain a war against the Carthaginians which far surpassed any that I ever heard of for cruelty and inhumanity.

B.C. 241-238.

The struggle lasts forty months.

VI. Therefore it is that pity and sympathy and assistance await those whose failure is due to Fortune: reproach and rebuke from all men of sense those who have only their own folly to thank for it.

B.C. 230.

The bad faith of some Gallic mercenaries.

It is the latter that the Epirotes now richly deserved at the hands of the Greeks. For in the first place,

κοινὴν περὶ Γαλατῶν φήμην ὑπιδόμενος εὐλαβηθείη τούτοις ἐγχειρίσαι πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχουσαν εἰς παρασπόνδησιν; δεύτερον τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐφυλάξατο τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συστήματος ἐκείνου προαίρεσιν; οἵ γε τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν διὰ τὸ παρασπονδῆσαι τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκείους καὶ συγγενεῖς· ὑποδεξαμένων γε μὴν αὐτοὺς Καρχηδονίων διὰ τὸ κατεπείγεσθαι πολέμῳ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γενομένης τινὸς ἀντιρρήσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίων ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπεβάλοντο διαρπάζειν τὴν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλιν, φυλακῆς χάριν εἰσαχθέντες εἰς αὐτήν, ὄντες τότε πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεισαγαγόντων αὐτοὺς πάλιν εἰς Ἔρυκα τῆς αὐτῆς χρείας ἕνεκεν, πολιορκούντων τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκουμένους προδοῦναι, τῆς δὲ πράξεως ταύτης ἀποτυχόντες ἠτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, παρ' οἷς πιστευθέντες πάλιν ἐσύλησαν τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς Ἐρυκίνης ἱερόν. διὸ σαφῶς ἐπεγνωκότες Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν, ἅμα τῷ διαλύσασθαι τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο προυργιαίτερον τοῦ παροπλίσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς πλοῖα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης ἐξορίστους καταστῆσαι. οὓς Ἠπειρῶται τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν νόμων φύλακας

who in his senses, knowing the common report as to the character of the Galatae, would not have hesitated to trust to them a city so rich, and offering so many opportunities for treason? And again, who would not have been on his guard against the bad character of this particular body of them? For they had originally been driven from their native country by an outburst of popular indignation at an act of treachery done by them to their own kinsfolk and relations. Then having been received by the Carthaginians, because of the exigencies of the war in which the latter were engaged, and being drafted into Agrigentum to garrison it (being at the time more than 3000 strong), they seized the opportunity of a dispute as to pay, arising between the soldiers and their generals, to plunder the city; and again, being brought by the Carthaginians into Eryx to perform the same duty, they first endeavoured to betray the city and those who were shut up in it with them to the Romans who were besieging it; and when they failed in that treason, they deserted in a body to the enemy: whose trust they also betrayed by plundering the temple of Aphrodite at Eryx.

Thoroughly convinced, therefore, of their abominable character, as soon as they had made peace with Carthage the Romans made it their first business to disarm them, put them on board ship, and forbid them ever to enter any part of Italy. These were the men whom the Epirotes made the protectors of their democracy and the guardians of their laws! To such

ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην πόλιν ἐγχειρίσαντες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως φανείησαν αὐτοὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων αὑτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγονότες;

(ii. 7.)

VII. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους (ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἀπελίπομεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν) νουνεχῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς χειρίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔν τε τοῖς ὅλοις μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο προκοπήν, τήν τε παρὰ μέν τισι Καρχηδόνα παρὰ δέ τισι Καινὴν πόλιν προσαγορευομένην κατασκευάσας οὐ μικρὰ μεγάλα δὲ συνεβάλλετο Καρχηδονίοις εἰς πραγμάτων λόγον, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου πρός τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράγματα καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην· περὶ ἧς ἡμεῖς εὐφυέστερον καιρὸν λαβόντες ὑποδείξομεν τὴν θέσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν χρείαν, ἣν ἀμφοτέραις δύναται παρέχεσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις χώραις. ὃν καὶ θεωροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι μείζω καὶ φοβερωτέραν ἤδη συνιστάμενον δυναστείαν, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. εὑρόντες δὲ σφᾶς ἐπικεκοιμημένους ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις καὶ προειμένους εἰς τὸ μεγάλην χεῖρα κατασκευάσασθαι Καρχηδονίους, ἀνατρέχειν ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ δύναμιν. αὐτόθεν μὲν οὖν ἐπιτάττειν ἢ πολεμεῖν οὐ κατετόλμων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν φόβον ἐπικρέμασθαι τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν καὶ μόνον οὐ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν προσδοκᾶν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν· καταψήσαντες δὲ καὶ πραΰναντες τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, οὕτως ἔκριναν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς Κελτοῖς καὶ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐδέποτ' ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐχ

men as these they entrusted their most wealthy city! How then can it be denied that they were the cause of their own misfortunes?

VII. We must now turn to Hasdrubal in Iberia. B.C. 228. He had during this period been conducting his command with ability and success, and had not only given in general a great impulse to the Carthaginian interests there, but in particular had greatly strengthened them by the fortification of the town, variously called Carthage, and New Town, the situation of which was exceedingly convenient for operations in Libya as well as in Iberia. I shall take a more suitable opportunity of speaking of the site of this town, and of pointing out the advantages offered by it to both countries: I must at present speak of the impression made by Hasdrubal's policy at Rome. Seeing him strengthening the Carthaginian influence in Spain, and rendering it continually more formidable, the Romans were anxious to interfere in the politics of that country. They discovered, as they thought, that they had allowed their suspicions to be lulled to sleep, and had meanwhile given the Carthaginians the opportunity of consolidating their power. They did not venture, however, at the moment to impose conditions or to make war on them, because they were in almost daily dread of an attack from the Celts. They determined therefore to mollify Hasdrubal by gentle measures, and so to leave themselves free to attack the Celts first and try conclusions with them: for they were convinced that, with such enemies

Carthaginians in Spain.

Struggle of Romans and Celts in Italy.

οἷον δυναστεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀσφαλῶς οἰκῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, τούτους ἔχοντες ἐφέδρους τοὺς ἄνδρας. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ποιήσασθαι συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν παρεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ καλούμενον Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν οὐκ ἔδει Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβαίνειν, εὐθέως ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Κελτοὺς πόλεμον.

(ii. 13.)

VIII. Ὑπὲρ ὧν δοκεῖ μοι χρήσιμον εἶναι κεφαλαιώδη μὲν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ἵνα τὸ τῆς προκατασκευῆς οἰκεῖον συσσώσωμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν, ἀναδραμεῖν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐξ ὅτου κατέσχον οἱ προειρημένοι τὴν χώραν· ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν οὐ μόνον ἀξίαν εἶναι γνώσεως καὶ μνήμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελέως ἀναγκαίαν χάριν τοῦ μαθεῖν τίσι μετὰ ταῦτα πιστεύσας ἀνδράσι καὶ τόποις Ἀννίβας ἐπεβάλετο καταλύειν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ τῆς χώρας ῥητέον, ποία τίς ἐστιν καὶ πῶς κεῖται πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν· οὕτως γὰρ ἔσται καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πράξεις διαφέροντα κατανοεῖν βέλτιον, ὑπογραφέντων τῶν περί τε τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰδιωμάτων.

Τῆς δὴ συμπάσης Ἰταλίας τῷ σχήματι τριγωνοειδοῦς ὑπαρχούσης, τὴν μὲν μίαν ὁρίζει πλευρὰν αὐτῆς, τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς κεκλιμένην, ὅ τ' Ἰόνιος πόρος καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν κόλπος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ δυσμὰς τετραμμένην τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος. αὗται δ' αἱ πλευραὶ συμπίπτουσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας κορυφὴν ποιοῦσι τοῦ τριγώνου τὸ προκείμενον ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν μεσημβρίαν, ὃ προσαγορεύεται μὲν Κόκυνθος, διαιρεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον καὶ τὸ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος. τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τὴν παρά τε τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρα-

on their flank, they would not only be unable to keep their hold over the rest of Italy, but even to reckon on safety in their own city. Accordingly, while sending envoys to Hasdrubal, and making a treaty with him by which the Carthaginians, without saying anything of the rest of Iberia, engaged not to cross the Iber in arms, they pushed on the war with the Celts in Italy.

VIII. This war itself I shall treat only summarily, to avoid breaking the thread of my history; but I must go back somewhat in point of time, and refer to the period at which these tribes originally occupied their districts in Italy. For the story I think is worth knowing for its own sake, and must certainly be kept in mind, if we wish to understand on what tribes and districts Hannibal relied to assist him in his bold design of destroying the Roman dominion. I will first describe the country in which they live, its nature, and its relation to the rest of Italy; for if we clearly understand its peculiarities, geographical and natural, we shall be better able to grasp the salient points in the history of the war.

The Celtic district of Italy.

Italy, taken as a whole, is a triangle, of which the eastern side is bound by the Ionian sea and the Adriatic Gulf, its southern and western sides by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian Seas; these two sides converge to form the apex of the triangle, which is represented by the southern promontory of Italy called Cocinthus, and which separates the Ionian from the Sicilian sea. The third side, or base of this triangle, is on the north,

τείνουσαν ὁρίζει κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἡ τῶν Ἄλπεων παρώρεια, λαμβάνουσα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ Σαρδῷον πέλαγος τόπων, παρήκουσα δὲ συνεχῶς μέχρι πρὸς τὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ἀδρίου μυχόν, πλὴν βραχέος ὃ προκαταλήγουσα λείπει τοῦ μὴ συνάπτειν αὐτῷ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν προειρημένην παρώρειαν, ἣν δεῖ νοεῖν ὡσανεὶ βάσιν τοῦ τριγώνου, παρὰ ταύτην ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὑπόκειται πεδία τῆς συμπάσης Ἰταλίας τελευταῖα πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ νῦν δὴ λόγος, ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὅσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἱστορίαν. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὅλον εἶδος καὶ τῆς ταῦτα τὰ πεδία περιγραφούσης γραμμῆς τριγωνοειδές, τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τὴν μὲν κορυφὴν ἥ τε τῶν Ἀπεννίνων καλουμένων ὀρῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεινῶν σύμπτωσις οὐ μακρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαρδῴου πελάγους ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας ἀποτελεῖ, τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων, ὡς ἐπάνω προεῖπον, τὰς Ἄλπεις αὐτὰς ἐπὶ δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους παρήκειν συμβαίνει, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον ἐπὶ τρισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους. βάσεώς γε μὴν τάξιν λαμβάνει τοῦ παντὸς σχήματος ἡ παραλία τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν κόλπου· τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς βάσεώς ἐστιν, ἀπὸ πόλεως Σήνης ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν μυχόν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχιλίους σταδίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν περίμετρον τῶν προειρημένων πεδίων μὴ πολὺ λείπειν τῶν μυρίων σταδίων. (ii. 14.)

IX. Περί γε μὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ῥᾴδιον. σίτου τε γὰρ τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς πολλάκις τεττάρων ὀβολῶν εἶναι τῶν πυρῶν τὸν Σικελικὸν μέδιμνον, τῶν δὲ κριθῶν δυεῖν, τοῦ δ' οἴνου τὸν μετρητὴν ἰσόκριθον.[1] ἐλύμου γε μὴν καὶ κέγχρου τελέως ὑπερβάλλουσα δαψίλεια γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς· τὸ δὲ τῶν βαλάνων πλῆθος τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ

and is formed by the chain of the Alps stretching right across the country, beginning at Marseilles and the coast of the Sardinian Sea, and with no break in its continuity until within a short distance of the head of the Adriatic. To the south of this range, which I said we must regard as the base of the triangle, are the most northerly plains of Italy, the largest and most fertile of any with which I am acquainted in all Europe. This is the district with which we are at present concerned. Taken as a whole it too forms a triangle, the apex of which is the point where the Apennines and Alps converge, above Marseilles, and not far from the coast of the Sardinian Sea. The northern side of this triangle is formed by the Alps, extending 2200 stades; the southern by the Apennines, extending 3600; and the base is the seaboard of the Adriatic, from the town of Sena to the head of the gulf, a distance of more than 2500 stades. The total length of the three sides will thus be nearly 10,000 stades.

Its wonderful fertility.

IX. The yield of corn in this district is so abundant that wheat is often sold at four obols a Sicilian medimnus, barley at two, and a metretes of wine for an equal measure of barley.[1] The quantity of panic and millet produced is extraordinary; and the amount of acorns grown in the oak forests scattered

[1] That is, wheat cost 1*d*. per bushel, barley ½*d*. per bushel, while 1*d*. would purchase 16 gallons of wine.

τῶν κατὰ διάστημα δρυμῶν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις μάλιστα τεκμήραιτο· πλείστων γὰρ ὑικῶν ἱερείων κοπτομένων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διά τε τὰς εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βίους καὶ τὰς εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα παραθέσεις, τὴν ὁλοσχερεστάτην χορηγίαν ἐκ τούτων συμβαίνει τῶν πεδίων αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ μέρος εὐωνίας καὶ δαψιλείας τῶν πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν ἀνηκόντων οὕτως ἄν τις ἀκριβέστατα κατανοήσειεν· ποιοῦνται γὰρ τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ διοδεύοντες τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς πανδοκείοις οὐ συμφωνοῦντες περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' ἐρωτῶντες πόσου τὸν ἄνδρα δέχεται· ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παρίενται τοὺς καταλύτας οἱ πανδοκεῖς, ὡς ἱκανὰ πάντ' ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἡμιασσαρίου (τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολοῦ),[1] σπανίως δὲ τοῦθ' ὑπερβαίνουσι. τό γε μὴν πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τῶν σωμάτων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τόλμαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων σαφῶς ἔσται καταμαθεῖν.

(ii. 15.)

X. Τῶν δ' Ἄλπεων ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς, τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα πεδία νευούσης, τοὺς βουνώδεις καὶ γεώδεις τόπους κατοικοῦσι τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν καὶ τὰς ἄρκτους ἐστραμμένους Γαλάται Τρανσαλπῖνοι προσαγορευόμενοι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία Ταυρίσκοι καὶ Ἄγωνες καὶ πλείω γένη βαρβάρων ἕτερα. Τρανσαλπῖνοί γε μὴν οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου διαφορὰν προσαγορεύονται· τὸ γὰρ τρὰνς ἐξερμηνευόμενόν ἐστι πέραν, διὸ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα τῶν Ἄλπεων Τρανσαλπίνους καλοῦσι. τὰ δ' ἄκρα διά τε τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐπιμενούσης ἀεὶ χιόνος ἀοίκητα τελέως ἐστίν.

τὸν δ' Ἀπεννῖνον ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίαν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις συμπτώσεως Λιγυστῖνοι κατοικοῦσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος

about the country may be gathered from the fact that, though nowhere are more pigs slaughtered than in Italy, for sacrifices as well as for family use, and for feeding the army, by far the most important supply is from these plains. The cheapness and abundance of all articles of food may also be clearly shown from the fact that travellers in these parts, when stopping at inns, do not bargain for particular articles, but simply ask what the charge is per head for board. And for the most part the innkeepers are content to supply their guests with every necessary at a charge rarely exceeding half an *as* (that is, the fourth part of an *obol*)[1] a day each. Of the numbers, stature, and personal beauty of the inhabitants, and still more of their bravery in war, we shall be able to satisfy ourselves from the facts of their history.

X. Such parts of both slopes of the Alps as are not too rocky or too precipitous are inhabited by different tribes : those on the north towards the Rhone by the Galatae, called Transalpine ; those towards the Italian plains by the Taurisci and Agones and a number of other barbarous tribes. The name Transalpine is not tribal, but local, from the Latin preposition *trans*, 'across.' The summits of the Alps, from their rugged character, and the great depth of perpetual snow, are entirely uninhabited. Both slopes of the Apennines, towards the Tuscan sea and towards the plains, are inhabited by the Ligurians, from above Marseilles and the junction of the Alps to Pisae on the coast, the first

[1] That is, one farthing a day.

αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν κεκλιμένην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία, παρὰ θάλατταν μὲν μέχρι πόλεως Πίσης, ἣ πρώτη κεῖται τῆς Τυρρηνίας ὡς πρὸς τὰς δυσμάς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιον ἕως τῆς Ἀρρητίνων χώρας· ἑξῆς δὲ Τυρρηνοί. τούτοις δὲ συνεχεῖς ἑκάτερον τὸ κλίμα νέμονται τῶν προειρημένων ὀρῶν Ὄμβροι. λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν Ἀπεννῖνος ἀπέχων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν θαλάττης σταδίους ὡσανεὶ πεντακοσίους, ἀπολείπει τὰ πεδία δεξιὸς ἀπονεύων, καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς λοιπῆς Ἰταλίας διήκων εἰς τὸ Σικελικὸν κατατείνει πέλαγος· τὸ δ' ἀπολειπόμενον μέρος πεδινὸν τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ πόλιν καθήκει Σήνην. ὁ δὲ Πάδος ποταμός, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν Ἠριδανὸς θρυλούμενος, ἔχει μὲν τὰς πηγὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄλπεων ὡς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν μᾶλλον τοῦ προειρημένου σχήματος, καταφέρεται δ' εἰς τὰ πεδία ποιούμενος τὴν ῥύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς τοὺς ἐπιπέδους τόπους, ἐκκλίνας τῷ ῥεύματι πρὸς ἕω φέρεται δι' αὐτῶν, ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν δυσὶ στόμασιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τόπους· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἀποτέμνεται μέρος τῆς πεδιάδος χώρας εἰς τὰς Ἄλπεις καὶ τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν μυχόν. ἄγει δὲ πλῆθος ὕδατος οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποταμῶν διὰ τὸ τὰς ῥύσεις τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία νευούσας ἀπό τε τῶν Ἄλπεων καὶ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν εἰς τοῦτον ἐμπίπτειν ἁπάσας καὶ πανταχόθεν. μεγίστῳ δὲ καὶ καλλίστῳ ῥεύματι φέρεται περὶ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν, αὐξόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνατηκομένων χιόνων ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ὄρεσιν. ἀναπλεῖται δ' ἐκ θαλάττης κατὰ τὸ στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Ὄλανα σχεδὸν ἐπὶ δισχιλίους σταδίους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἔχει ῥύσιν ἁπλῆν, σχίζεται δ' εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται Παδόα, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ὄλανα. κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ

city on the west of Etruria and inland to Arretium. Next to them come the Etruscans; and the next on both slopes the Umbrians. The distance between the Apennines and the Adriatic averages about five hundred stades; and when it leaves the northern plains the chain verges to the right, and goes entirely through the middle of the rest of Italy, as far as the Sicilian Sea. The remaining portion of this triangle, namely the plain along the sea coast, extends as far as the town of Sena. The Po, celebrated by the poets under the name of Eridanus, rises in the Alps near the apex of the triangle, and flows down to the plains in a southerly course; and after reaching the plains it turns to the east, and flowing through them discharges itself by two mouths into the Adriatic. The larger part of the plain is thus cut off by it, and lies between this river and the Alps to the head of the Adriatic. In body of water it is second to no river in Italy, because the mountain streams, descending from the Alps and Apennines to the plain, one and all flow into it on both sides; and its stream is at its height and beauty about the time of the rising of the Dog Star (i.e. July 15), because it is then swollen by the melting snows on the mountains. It is navigable for nearly 2000 stades up stream, the ships entering by the mouth called Olana; and though it is a single main channel to begin with, it branches off into two at the place called Trigoboli, of which streams the northern is called the Padoa, the southern the Olana.

λιμὴν οὐδενὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἥττω παρεχόμενος ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ καθορμιζομένοις. παρά γε μὴν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὁ ποταμὸς προσαγορεύεται Βόδεγκος. τἆλλα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἱστορούμενα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, λέγω δὴ τὰ περὶ Φαέθοντα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πτῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ δάκρυα τῶν αἰγείρων καὶ τοὺς μελανείμονας τοὺς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦντας, οὕς φασι τὰς ἐσθῆτας εἰσέτι νῦν φορεῖν τοιαύτας ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα πένθους, καὶ πᾶσαν δὴ τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ταύτῃ προσεοικυῖαν ὕλην ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ὑπερθησόμεθα διὰ τὸ μὴ λίαν καθήκειν τῷ τῆς προκατασκευῆς γένει τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκριβολογίαν, μεταλαβόντες δὲ καιρὸν ἁρμόττοντα ποιησόμεθα τὴν καθήκουσαν μνήμην, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Τιμαίου περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους ἄγνοιαν.

(ii. 16.)

XI. Πλὴν ταῦτά γε τὰ πεδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἐνέμοντο Τυρρηνοί,[1] καθ' οὓς χρόνους καὶ τὰ Φλέγραιά ποτε καλούμενα τὰ περὶ Καπύην καὶ Νώλην, ἃ δὴ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς ἐμποδὼν εἶναι καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι μεγάλην ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δόξαν εἴληφεν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱστοροῦντας τὰς Τυρρηνῶν δυναστείας οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν κατεχομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα πεδία καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων ἀφορμάς. οἷς ἐπιμιγνύμενοι κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν Κελτοί, καὶ περὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας ὀφθαλμιάσαντες, ἐκ μικρᾶς προφάσεως μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ παραδόξως ἐπελθόντες ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάδον χώρας Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ κατέσχον αὐτοὶ τὰ πεδία. τὰ μὲν

[1] The Celts of the first Celtic migration, whom we find in the British Isles at the time of Homer (*v. supra*, pp. 2, 3), were established in North Italy circa 1000 B.C. They were conquered by the Etruscans circa 700 B.C., who in turn were conquered by the Celts of the second Celtic migration, circa 400 B.C. *Vide* Bertrand et Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Po et du Danube.*

At the mouth of the latter there is a harbour affording as safe anchorage as any in the Adriatic. The whole river is called by the country folk the Bodencus. As to the other stories current in Greece about this river,—I mean Phaethon and his fall, and the tears of the poplars and the black clothes of the inhabitants along this stream, which they are said to wear on this day as mourning for Phaethon,—all such tragic incidents I pass over for the present, as unsuitable to the nature of the work I have in hand; but I shall return to them at some other more fitting opportunity, particularly because Timaeus has shown a strange ignorance of this district.

The Celts expel the Etruscans from Northern Italy. Circa B.C. 400.[1]

XI. To continue my description. These plains were anciently inhabited by Etruscans, at the same period as what are called the Phlegraean plains round Capua and Nola; which latter, however, have enjoyed the highest reputation, because they lay in the way of a great many people and so got known. In speaking then of the history of the Etruscan Empire, we should not refer to the district occupied by them at the present time, but to those northern plains, and to what they accomplished when they inhabited them. Their chief intercourse was with the Celts, because they occupied the adjoining districts; who, envying the beauty of their lands, seized some slight pretext to gather a great host and expel the Etruscans from the valley of the Po, which they at once took possession of themselves. First, the country near the source of the Po was occupied by the Laevi and

οὖν πρῶτα καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Πάδου κείμενα Λάοι καὶ Λεβέκιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἰνσομβρες κατῴκησαν, ὃ μέγιστον ἔθνος ἦν αὐτῶν· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Γονομάνοι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἤδη προσήκοντα γένος ἄλλο πάνυ παλαιὸν διακατέσχεν· προσαγορεύονται δ' Οὐένετοι, τοῖς μὲν ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφέροντες Κελτῶν, γλώττῃ δ' ἀλλοίᾳ χρώμενοι· περὶ ὧν οἱ τραγῳδιογράφοι πολύν τινα πεποίηνται λόγον καὶ πολλὴν διατέθεινται τερατείαν. τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου, τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον, πρῶτοι μὲν Ἄναρες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Βοῖοι κατῴκησαν, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν Λίγγωνες, τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸς θαλάττῃ Σήνωνες.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν κατασχόντων τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους ἐθνῶν ταῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, ᾤκουν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, τῆς λοιπῆς κατασκευῆς ἄμοιροι καθεστῶτες· διὰ γὰρ τὸ στιβαδοκοιτεῖν καὶ κρεαφαγεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκεῖν, ἁπλοῦς εἶχον τοὺς βίους, οὔτ' ἐπιστήμης ἄλλης οὔτε τέχνης παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παράπαν γινωσκομένης. ὕπαρξίς γε μὴν ἑκάστοις ἦν θρέμματα καὶ χρυσὸς διὰ τὸ μόνα ταῦτα κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις ῥᾳδίως δύνασθαι πανταχῇ περιαγαγεῖν καὶ μεθιστάναι κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν προαιρέσεις. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑταιρείας μεγίστην σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ δυνατώτατον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ὃς ἂν πλείστους ἔχειν δοκῇ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας καὶ συμπεριφερομένους αὐτῷ.[1]

(ii. 17.)

XII. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς οὐ μόνον τῆς χώρας ἐπεκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πολλοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπεποίηντο, τῇ

[1] Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 11–20.

Lebecii; after them the Insubres settled in the country, the largest tribe of all; and next to them along the bank of the river, the Cenomani. But the district along the shore of the Adriatic was held by another very ancient tribe, called the Venĕti, in customs and dress nearly allied to the Celts, but using quite a different language, about whom the tragic poets have written a great many wonderful tales. South of the Po, in the Apennine district, first beginning from the west, the Anares, and next to them the Boii settled. Next them, on the coast of the Adriatic, the Lingones; and south of these, still on the sea-coast, the Senones. These are the most important tribes that took possession of this part of the country. They lived in open villages, without any permanent buildings. As they made their bed of straw or leaves, and fed on meat, and followed no pursuits but those of war and agriculture, they lived simple lives without being acquainted with any science or art whatever. Each man's property, moreover, consisted in cattle and gold; as they were the only things that could be easily carried with them, when they wandered from place to place, and changed their dwellings as fancy directed. They put a high esteem, however, on friendship: for the man who had the largest number of clients or companions in his wanderings was looked upon as the most formidable and powerful member of the tribe.[1]

The primitive life of the second Celtic settlers.

XII. In the early days of their settlement, they did not merely subdue the territory which they occupied,

They capture Rome, but return home

τόλμῃ καταπεπληγμένοι· μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον μάχῃ νικήσαντες Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων παραταξαμένους, ἑπόμενοι τοῖς φεύγουσι τρισὶ τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις ὕστερον κατέσχον αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου. γενομένου δ' ἀντισπάσματος καὶ τῶν Οὐενέτων ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, τότε μὲν ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποδόντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις συνείχοντο πολέμοις· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν τὰς Ἄλπεις κατοικούντων ὁρμὰς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ συνηθροίζοντο πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτούς, θεωροῦντες ἐκ παραθέσεως τὴν παραγεγενημένην αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ Ῥωμαῖοι τήν τε σφετέραν δύναμιν ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Λατίνους αὖθις πράγματα συνεστήσαντο. παραγενομένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Κελτῶν εἰς Ἄλβαν στρατευματι μεγάλῳ μετὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατάληψιν ἔτει τριακοστῷ, τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀντεξαγαγεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ στρατόπεδα διὰ τὸ παραδόξου γενομένης τῆς ἐφόδου προκαταληφθῆναι καὶ μὴ καταταχῆσαι τὰς τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντας δυνάμεις· αὖθις δ' ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς ἑτέρας ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς ἐπιπορευομένων προαισθόμενοι καὶ συναγείραντες τοὺς συμμάχους μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀπήντων, σπεύδοντες συμβαλεῖν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καὶ διαστασιάσαντες πρὸς σφᾶς νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης φυγῇ

but rendered also many of the neighbouring peoples subject to them, whom they overawed by their audacity. Some time afterwards they conquered the Romans in battle, and pursuing the flying legions, in three days after the battle occupied Rome itself with the exception of the Capitol. But a circumstance intervened which recalled them home, that is to say, an invasion of their territory by the Veněti. Accordingly they made terms with the Romans, handed back the city and returned to their own land, and subsequently were occupied with domestic wars. Some of the tribes, also, who dwelt on the Alps, comparing their own barren districts with the rich land occupied by the others, were continually making raids upon them, and collecting their forces to attack them. This gave the Romans time to recover their strength, and to come to terms with the people of Latium. When, thirty years after the capture of the city, the Celts came again as far as Alba, the Romans were taken by surprise; and having no intelligence of the intended invasion, nor time to collect the forces of the Socii, did not venture to give them battle. But when another invasion in great force took place twelve years later, they did get previous intelligence of it; and having mustered their allies, sallied forth to meet them in great spirit, being eager to engage them and fight a decisive battle. But the Galatae were dismayed at their approach; and, being besides weakened by internal feuds, retreated homewards as soon as night fell, with all the appearance of a regular flight. After

to repel an invasion (B.C. 388).

July 18.

The less-civilised tribes on the Alps disturb those on the plains.

The Romans (B.C. 360).

B.C. 348.

παραπλησίαν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ φόβου τριακαίδεκα μὲν ἔτη τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνορῶντες αὐξανομένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο καὶ συνθήκας.

(ii. 18.)

XIII. Ἐν αἷς ἔτη τριάκοντα μείναντες ἐμπεδῶς, αὖθις γενομένου κινήματος ἐκ τῶν Τρανασαλπίνων δείσαντες μὴ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐγερθῇ βαρύς, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτρεψαν τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν ἐξανισταμένων δωροφοροῦντες καὶ προτιθέμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίους παρώξυναν καὶ μετέσχον αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατείας, ἐν ᾗ τὴν ἔφοδον ποιησάμενοι διὰ Τυρρηνίας ὁμοῦ συστρατευσαμένων σφίσι Τυρρηνῶν, καὶ περιβαλόμενοι λείας πλῆθος, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανῆλθον, εἰς δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀφικόμενοι καὶ στασιάσαντες περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰλημμένων πλεονεξίαν τῆς τε λείας καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος διέφθειραν. τοῦτο δὲ σύνηθές ἐστι Γαλάταις πράττειν, ἐπειδὰν σφετερίσωνταί τι τῶν πέλας, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀλόγους οἰνοφλυγίας καὶ πλησμονάς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔτει τετάρτῳ συμφρονήσαντες ἅμα Σαυνῖται καὶ Γαλάται παρετάξαντο Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ Καμερτίων χώρᾳ, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ διέφθειραν· ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ προσφιλονεικήσαντες πρὸς τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλάττωμ' αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐξῆλθον, καὶ συμβαλόντες πᾶσι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐν τῇ τῶν Σεντινατῶν χώρᾳ πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασαν προτροπάδην ἕκαστους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν φυγεῖν. διαγενομένων

this alarm they kept quiet for thirteen years, at the end of which period, seeing that the power of the Romans was growing formidable, they made a peace and definite treaty with them. B.C. 334.

XIII. They abided by this treaty for thirty years: but at that time, alarmed by a threatening movement on the part of the Transalpine tribes, and fearing that a dangerous war was imminent, they diverted the attack of the invading horde from themselves by presents and appeals to their ties of kindred, but incited them to attack the Romans, joining in the expedition themselves. They directed their march through Etruria, and were joined by the Etruscans; the combined armies, after taking a great quantity of booty, got safely back from the Roman territory. But when they got home, they quarrelled over the division of the spoil, and in the end destroyed most of it, as well as the flower of their own force. This is the way of the Galatae when they have appropriated their neighbours' property; and it mostly arises from brutal drunkenness and intemperate feeding. In the fourth year after this, the Samnites and Galatae made a league, gave the Romans battle in the neighbourhood of Camertium, and slew a large number. Incensed at this defeat the Romans marched out a few days afterwards, and with two Consular armies engaged the enemy in the territory of Sentinum; and, having killed a large number of them, forced the survivors B.C. 299.

Romans defeated in B.C. 297,[1]

[1] For the events from B.C. 297 to B.C. 225 see Livy, *infra* vol. ii., who here gives more detailed and valuable information than is to be found in Polybius.

δὲ πάλιν ἐτῶν δέκα παρεγένοντο Γαλάται μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς πολιορκήσοντες τὴν Ἀρρητίνων πόλιν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παραβοηθήσαντες καὶ συμβαλόντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡττήθησαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Λευκίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτήσαντος Μάνιον ἐπικατέστησαν τὸν Κόριον, οὗ πρεσβευτὰς ἐκπέμψαντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων παρασπονδήσαντες ἐπανείλοντο τοὺς πρέσβεις. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπιστρατευσαμένων, ἀπαντήσαντες συνέβαλλον οἱ Σήνωνες καλούμενοι Γαλάται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐξέβαλον, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐγένοντο πάσης ἐγκρατεῖς, εἰς ἣν καὶ πρώτην τῆς Γαλατίας ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν τὴν Σήνην προσαγορευομένην πόλιν, ὁμώνυμον οὖσαν τοῖς πρότερον αὐτὴν κατοικοῦσι Γαλάταις· ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀρτίως διεσαφήσαμεν, φάσκοντες αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι κεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων.

(ii. 19.)

XIV. Οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι θεωροῦντες ἐκπεπτωκότας τοὺς Σήνωνας, καὶ δείσαντες περὶ σφῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας μὴ πάθωσι τὸ παραπλήσιον, ἐξεστράτευσαν πανδημεὶ παρακαλέσαντες Τυρρηνούς, ἀθροισθέντες δὲ περὶ τὴν Ὀάδμονα προσαγορευομένην λίμνην παρετάξαντο Ῥωμαίοις. ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Τυρρηνῶν μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεκόπησαν, τῶν δὲ Βοίων τελέως ὀλίγοι διέφυγον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ πόδας ἑνιαυτῷ συμφρονήσαντες αὖθις οἱ προειρημένοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄρτι τῶν νέων ἡβῶντας καθοπλίσαντες, παρετάξαντο πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἡττηθέντες δ' ὁλοσχερῶς τῇ μάχῃ μόλις

to retreat in hot haste each to his own land. Again, after another interval of ten years, the Galatae besieged Arretium with a great army, and the Romans went to the assistance of the town, and were beaten in an engagement under its walls. The praetor Lucius having fallen in this battle, Manius Curius was appointed in his place. The ambassadors, sent by him to treat with the Galatae for the prisoners, were treacherously murdered by them. At this the Romans, in high wrath, sent an expedition against them, which was met by the tribe called the Senones. In a pitched battle the army of the Senones was cut to pieces, and the rest of the tribe expelled from the country, into which the Romans sent the first colony which they ever planted in Gaul—namely, the town of Sena, so called from the tribe of Galatae which formerly inhabited it. This is the town which I named before as lying on the coast at the extremity of the plains of the Po.

and in B.C. 283;

but defeat the Senones and colonise Sena.

XIV. Seeing the expulsion of the Senones, and fearing the same fate for themselves, the Boii made a general levy, summoned the Etruscans to join them, and set out to war. They mustered their forces near the lacus Vadimonis, and there gave the Romans battle, in which the Etruscans indeed suffered a loss of more than half their men, while scarcely any of the Boii escaped. But yet in the very next year the same two nations joined forces once more; and, arming even those of them who had only just reached manhood, again gave the Romans battle; and it was not until

B.C. 283.

Boii defeated.

B.C. 282.

εἶξαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ διαπρεσβευσάμενοι περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ διαλύσεων συνθήκας ἔθεντο πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ταῦτα δὲ συνέβαινεν γίνεσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Πύρρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πέμπτῳ δὲ τῆς Γαλατῶν περὶ Δελφοὺς διαφθορᾶς· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἡ τύχη τοῖς καιροῖς ὡσανεὶ λοιμικήν τινα πολέμου διάθεσιν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι Γαλάταις. ἐκ δὲ τῶν προειρημένων ἀγώνων δύο τὰ κάλλιστα συνεκύρησε Ῥωμαίοις· τοῦ γὰρ κατακόπτεσθαι συνήθειαν ἐσχηκότες ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν οὐδὲν ἠδύναντο δεινότερον ἰδεῖν οὐδὲ προσδοκῆσαι τῶν αὐτοῖς ἤδη πεπραγμένων, ἐξ ὧν πρός τε Πύρρον ἀθληταὶ τέλειοι γεγονοτες τῶν κατὰ πολεμον ἔργων συγκατέστησαν, τήν τε Γαλατῶν τόλμαν ἐν καιρῷ κατα-πληξάμενοι λοιπὸν ἀπερισπάστως τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς Πύρρον περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπολέμουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἀρχῆς διηγωνίζοντο.

(ii. 20.)

XV. Γαλάται δ' ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἐλαττωμάτων ἔτη μὲν πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, εἰρήνην ἄγοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν αὐτόπται γεγονότες τῶν δεινῶν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξεχώρησαν διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεγένοντο δὲ νέοι θυμοῦ μὲν ἀλογίστου πλήρεις, ἄπειροι δὲ καὶ ἀόρατοι παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως, αὖθις ἤρξαντο τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν, ὃ φύσιν ἔχει γίνεσθαι, καὶ τραχύνεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπισπᾶσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἄλπεων Γαλάτας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον χωρὶς τοῦ πλήθους δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἐπράττετο

they had been utterly defeated in this engagement that they humbled themselves so far as to send ambassadors to Rome and make a treaty.

These events took place in the third year before Pyrrhus crossed into Italy, and in the fifth before the destruction of the Galatae at Delphi. For at this period fortune seems to have plagued the Galatae with a kind of epidemic of war. But the Romans gained two most important advantages from these events. First, their constant defeats at the hands of the Galatae had inured them to the worst that could befall them; and so, when they had to fight with Pyrrhus, they came to the contest like trained and experienced gladiators. And in the second place, they had crushed the insolence of the Galatae just in time to allow them to give an undivided attention, first to the war with Pyrrhus for the possession of Italy, and then to the war with Carthage for the supremacy in Sicily.

XV. After these defeats the Galatae maintained an unbroken peace with Rome for forty-five years. But when the generation who had witnessed the actual struggle had passed away, and a younger generation had taken their places, filled with unreflecting hardihood, and ignorant of any suffering or reverse, they began, as was natural, to disturb the settlement; and on the one hand to allow trifling causes to exasperate them against Rome, and on the other to invite the Alpine Galatae to join the fray. At first these intrigues were carried on by their chiefs B.C. 230 without the knowledge of their tribesmen; and

τὰ προειρημένα· διὸ καὶ παραγενομένων τῶν Τρανσαλπίνων ἕως Ἀριμίνου μετὰ δυνάμεως διαπιστήσαντα τὰ πλήθη τῶν Βοίων, καὶ στασιάσαντα πρός τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προεστῶτας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παραγεγονότας, ἀνεῖλον μὲν τοὺς ἰδίους βασιλεῖς Ἄτιν καὶ Γάλατον, κατέκοψαν δ' ἀλλήλους συμβαλόντες ἐκ παρατάξεων· ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατάφοβοι γενόμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξῆλθον μετὰ στρατοπέδου· συνέντες δὲ τὴν αὐθαίρετον καταφθορὰν τῶν Γαλατῶν αὖθις ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν φόβον ἔτει πέμπτῳ, Μάρκου Λεπέδου στρατηγοῦντος, κατεκληρούχησαν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Πικεντίνην προσαγορευομένην χώραν, ἐξ ἧς νικήσαντες ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Σήνωνας προσαγορευομένους Γαλάτας, Γαΐου Φλαμινίου ταύτην τὴν δημαγωγίαν εἰσηγησαμένου καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν φατέον ἀρχηγὸν μὲν γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ δήμου διαστροφῆς, αἰτίαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα πολέμου συστάντος αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Γαλατῶν ὑπεδύοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, μάλιστα δ' οἱ Βοῖοι διὰ τὸ συντερμονεῖν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώρᾳ, νομίσαντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἔτι καὶ δυναστείας Ῥωμαίους τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὁλοσχεροῦς ἐξαναστάσεως καὶ καταφθορᾶς.

(ii. 21.)

XVI. Διόπερ εὐθέως τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν, τό τε τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων καὶ Βοίων, συμφρονήσαντα διεπέμποντο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν κατοικοῦντας Γαλάτας, προσαγορευομένους δὲ διὰ τὸ μισθοῦ στρατεύειν Γαισάτους·[1] ἡ γὰρ λέξις αὕτη τοῦτο σημαίνει κυρίως. ὧν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Κογκολιτάνῳ καὶ Ἀνηροέστῳ παραυτίκα μὲν χρυσίου προτείναντες πλῆθος, εἰς τὸ μέλλον

accordingly, when an armed host of Transalpine Galatae arrived at Ariminum, the Boii were suspicious; and forming a conspiracy against their own leaders, as well as against the new-comers, they put their own two kings Atis and Galatus to death, and cut each other to pieces in a pitched battle. Just then the Romans, alarmed at the threatened invasion, had dispatched an army; but learning that the Galatae had committed this act of self-destruction, it returned home again. In the fifth year after this alarm, in the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the Romans divided among their citizens the territory of Picenum, from which they had ejected the Senones when they conquered them: a democratic measure introduced by Gaius Flaminius, and a policy which we must pronounce to have been the first step in the demoralisation of the people, as well as the cause of the next Gallic war. For many of the Galatae, and especially the Boii whose lands were coterminous with the territory of the Romans, entered upon that war from the conviction that the object of Rome in her wars with them was no longer supremacy and empire over them, but their total expulsion and destruction.

Romans colonise Picenum (B.C. 232)

XVI. Accordingly the two most extensive tribes, the Insubres and Boii, jointly dispatched messengers to the tribes living about the Alps, and on the Rhone, who, from a word which means 'serving for hire,' [1] are called Gaesatae. To their kings Concolitanus and Anercetes they offered a large sum of gold on the

This leads to war in B.C. 231.

[1] This etymology is fanciful; *vide* Glossary *sub voc.*

δ' ὑποδεικνύντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπαρξόντων αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἐὰν κρατήσωσι, προετρέποντο καὶ παρώξυνον πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατείαν. ῥᾳδίως δ' ἔπεισαν, ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις διδόντες μὲν τὰ πιστὰ περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν συμμαχίας, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες δὲ τῆς τῶν ἰδίων προγόνων πράξεως αὐτούς, ἐν ᾗ 'κεῖνοι στρατεύσαντες οὐ μόνον ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχον αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην, γενόμενοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἁπάντων ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ μῆνας κυριεύσαντες, τέλος ἐθελοντὶ καὶ μετὰ χάριτος παραδόντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄθραυστοι καὶ ἀσινεῖς ἔχοντες τὴν ὠφέλειαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανῆλθον. ὧν ἀκούοντες οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνες οὕτω παρωρμήθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ὥστε μηδέποτε μήτε πλείους μήτ' ἐνδοξοτέρους μήτε μαχιμωτέρους ἄνδρας ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων τῆς Γαλατίας. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ μὲν ἀκούοντες τὰ δὲ καταμαντευόμενοι τὸ μέλλον, εἰς φόβους ἐνέπιπτον συνεχεῖς καὶ ταραχὰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε ποτὲ μὲν στρατόπεδα καταγράφειν καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ποιεῖσθαι παρασκευάς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους ὡς ἤδη παρόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδέπω κεκινηκότων ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας τῶν Κελτῶν. οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ συνήργησεν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις τοῦτο τὸ κίνημα πρὸς τὸ κατασκευάσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀσφαλῶς· Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν εἴρηται, κρίνοντες ἀναγκαιότερα ταῦτα διὰ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς πλευραῖς

spot; and, for the future, pointed out to them the greatness of the wealth of Rome, and all the riches of which they would become possessed, if they took it. In these attempts to inflame their cupidity and induce them to join the expedition against Rome they easily succeeded. For they added to the above arguments pledges of their own alliance; and reminded them of the campaign of their own ancestors in which they had seized Rome itself, and had been masters of all it contained, as well as the city itself, for seven months; and had at last evacuated it of their own free will, and restored it as an act of free grace, returning unconquered and scatheless with the booty to their own land. These arguments made the leaders so eager for the expedition, that there never came from any other part of Gaul a larger host, or one consisting of more notable warriors. Meanwhile, the Romans, informed of what was coming, partly by report and partly by conjecture, were in such a state of constant alarm and excitement, that they hurriedly enrolled legions, collected supplies, and sent out their forces to the frontier, as though the enemy were already in their territory, before the Galatae had stirred from their own lands.

It was this movement of the Galatae that, more than anything else, helped the Carthaginians to consolidate their power in Iberia. For the Romans, as I have said, looked upon the Celtic question as the more pressing one of the two, as it was so near home; and in their anxiety to settle it satisfactorily first,

αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν, παρορᾶν ἠναγκάζοντο τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, σπουδάζοντες πρότερον ἐν καλῷ θέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Κελτούς. διόπερ ἀσφαλισάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὁμολογιῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄρτι δεδηλώκαμεν, ἐνεχείρησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Κελτοὺς πολέμους, νομίζοντες συμφέρειν σφίσι τὸ διακριθῆναι πρὸς τούτους.

(ii. 22.)

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Γαισάται Γαλάται συστησάμενοι δύναμιν πολυτελῆ καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἦκον ὑπεράραντες τὰς Ἄλπεις εἰς τὸν Πάδον ποταμόν, ἔτει μετὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας διάδοσιν ὀγδόῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων καὶ Βοίων γένος ἔμεινε γενναίως ἐν ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιβολαῖς, οἱ δ' Οὐένετοι καὶ Γονομάνοι διαπρεσβευσαμένων Ῥωμαίων τούτοις εἵλοντο συμμαχεῖν· διὸ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως καταλιπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κελτῶν φυλακῆς χάριν τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τούτων φόβον. αὐτοὶ δ' ἐξάραντες παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι κατατεθαρρηκότως ὥρμησαν, ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας, ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς πεντακισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ καὶ συνωρίδας εἰς δισμυρίους. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὡς θᾶττον ἤκουσαν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὑπερβεβληκέναι τὰς Ἄλπεις, Λεύκιον μὲν Αἰμίλιον ὕπατον μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐξαπέστειλαν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀριμίνου, τηρήσοντα ταύτῃ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἔφοδον, ἕνα δὲ τῶν ἐξαπελέκεων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ἀτίλιος προεξεληλυθὼς ἔτυχεν εἰς Σαρδόνα μετὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πάντες περιδεεῖς ἦσαν, μέγαν καὶ φοβερὸν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνοντες

were forced to connive at what was going on in Iberia. Having, therefore, put their relations with the Carthaginians on a safe footing by the treaty with Hasdrubal, which I spoke of a short time back, they gave an undivided attention to the Celtic war, convinced that their interests demanded that a decisive battle should be fought with them.

XVII. The Gaesatae, then, having collected their forces, crossed the Alps and descended into the valley of the Po with a formidable army, furnished with a variety of armour, in the eighth year after the distribution of the lands of Picenum. The Insubres and Boii remained loyal to the agreement they had made with them: but the Venĕti and Cenomani, being induced by embassies from Rome to take the Roman side, the Celtic kings were obliged to leave a portion of their forces behind, to guard against an invasion of their territory by those tribes. They themselves, with their main army, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse and chariots, struck camp and started on their march through Etruria in high spirits. As soon as it was known at Rome that the Celts had crossed the Alps, one of the consuls, Lucius Aemilius Papus, was sent with an army to Ariminum to guard against the passage of the enemy, and one of the praetors into Etruria: for the other consul, Gaius Atilius Regulus, happened to be in Sardinia with his legions. There was widespread panic in Rome, for the danger threatening them was believed to be great and B.C. 225.

ἐπιφέρεσθαι κίνδυνον. ἔπασχον δὲ τοῦτ' εἰκότως, ἔτι περὶ Γαλατῶν ἐγκαθημένου ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τοῦ παλαιοῦ φόβου. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀναφέροντες τὴν ἔννοιαν τὰ μὲν συνήθροιζον τὰ δὲ κατέγραφον στρατόπεδα, τοῖς δ' ἑτοίμοις εἶναι παρήγγελλον τῶν συμμάχων. καθόλου δὲ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἀναφέρειν ἐπέταξαν ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις, σπουδάζοντες εἰδέναι τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς δυνάμεως. σίτου δὲ καὶ βελῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιτηδειότητος πρὸς πόλεμον τηλικαύτην ἐποιήσαντο κατασκευὴν ἡλίκην οὐδείς πω μνημονεύει πρότερον. συνηργεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς πάντα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἑτοίμως· καταπεπληγμένοι γὰρ οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον, οὐκέτι Ῥωμαίοις ἠγοῦντο συμμαχεῖν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἡγεμονίας γίνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν ἐνόμιζον ἕκαστοι καὶ τῆς ἰδίας πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, διόπερ ἑτοίμως τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις ὑπήκουον.

(ii. 23.)

XVIII. Ἵνα δὲ συμφανὲς ἐπ' αὐτῶν γένηται τῶν ἔργων ἡλίκοις Ἀννίβας ἐτόλμησε πράγμασιν ἐπιθέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίκην δυναστείαν παραβόλως ἀντοφθαλμήσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο καθίκετο τῆς προθέσεως ὥστε τοῖς μεγίστοις συμπτώμασι περιβάλλειν Ῥωμαίους, ῥητέον ἂν εἴη τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς τότε δυνάμεως. μετὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεληλύθει τέτταρα στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαϊκά, πεντάκις μὲν χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους πεζοὺς ἱππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους ἔχον ἕκαστον· σύμμαχοι δὲ μεθ' ἑκατέρων ἦσαν οἱ συνάμφω πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς

formidable. And naturally so: for the old fear of the Galatae had never been eradicated from their minds. No one thought of anything else: they were incessantly occupied in mustering the legions, and enrolling new ones, and in ordering up such of the allies as were ready for service. The proper magistrates were appointed to give in a list of all citizens of military age; that it might at once be known to what the total of available forces amounted. And such store of corn, and darts, and other military equipments were collected as no one could remember on any former occasion. From every side assistance was eagerly rendered; for the inhabitants of Italy, in their terror at the Gallic invasion, no longer regarded the matter as a question of alliance with Rome, or as a war undertaken to support Roman supremacy, but each people looked upon it as a danger menacing themselves, their own city and territory. The response to the Roman appeal therefore was prompt.

XVIII. But that we may know from facts how great the power was which Hannibal subsequently ventured to attack, and what a mighty empire he faced, when he succeeded in inflicting upon the Roman people the most severe disasters, I must now state the strength of the forces they could at that time bring into the field. The two consuls had marched out with four legions, each consisting of five thousand two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. Besides this there were with each consul allies to the number of thirty thousand infantry and

Strength of the Roman forces: 150,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 770,000 reserve men.

τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσβοηθησάντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην Σαβίνων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν πεντακισμυρίων. τούτους μὲν ἀθροίσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας προεκάθισαν, ἐξαπέλεκυν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνα συστήσαντες· οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον κατοικοῦντες Ὄμβροι καὶ Σαρσινάτοι συνήχθησαν εἰς δισμυρίους, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Οὐένετοι καὶ Γονομάνοι δισμύριοι· τούτους δ' ἔταξαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆς Γαλατίας, ἵν' ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Βοίων χώραν ἀντιπερισπῶσι τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας. τὰ μὲν οὖν προκαθήμενα στρατόπεδα τῆς χώρας ταῦτ' ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ διέτριβον ἡτοιμασμένοι χάριν τῶν συμβαινόντων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἐφεδρείας ἔχοντες τάξιν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν πεζοὶ δισμύριοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἱππεῖς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς· καταγραφαὶ δ' ἀνηνέχθησαν Λατίνων μὲν ὀκτακισμύριοι πεζοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς, Σαυνιτῶν δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν ἑπτακισμύριοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἱππεῖς ἑπτακισχίλιοι, καὶ μὴν Ἰαπύγων καὶ Μεσσαπίων συνάμφω πεζῶν μὲν πέντε μυριάδες ἱππεῖς δὲ μύριοι σὺν ἑξακισχιλίοις, Λευκανῶν δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι τρισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς, Μάρσων δὲ καὶ Μαρρουκίνων καὶ Φερεντάνων, ἔτι δ' Οὐεστίνων πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τετρακισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς. ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Τάραντι στρατόπεδα δύο παρεφήδρευεν, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἦν ἀνὰ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους πεζούς, ἱππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους. Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Καμπανῶν ἡ πληθὺς πεζῶν μὲν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε κατελέχθησαν μυριάδες, ἱππέων δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς

two thousand cavalry. Of Sabines and Etruscans, too, there had come to Rome, for that special occasion, four thousand horse and more than fifty thousand foot. These were formed into an army and sent in advance into Etruria, under the command of one of the praetors. Moreover, the Umbrians and Sarsinatae, hill tribes of the Apennine district, were collected to the number of twenty thousand; and with them were twenty thousand Venĕti and Cenomani. These were stationed on the frontier of the Gallic territory, that they might divert the attention of the invaders, by making an incursion into the lands of the Boii. These were the forces guarding the frontier. In Rome itself, ready as a reserve against the accidents of war, there remained twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse of citizens, and thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse of the allies. Lists of men for service had also been returned: of Latins eighty thousand foot and five thousand horse; of Samnites seventy thousand foot and seven thousand horse; of Iapygians and Messapians together fifty thousand foot and sixteen thousand horse; and of Lucanians thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse; of Marsi, and Marrucini, and Ferentani, and Vestini, twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. And besides these, there were in reserve in Sicily and Tarentum two legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse. Of the Romans and Campanians the total of those put on the roll was two hundred and fifty thousand foot

δύο μυριάσιν ἐπῆσαν ἔτι τρεῖς χιλιάδες. ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ [κεφάλαιον τῶν μὲν προκαθημένων τῆς Ῥώμης δυνάμεων πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ πρὸς ξακισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ] σύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν δυναμένων ὅπλα βαστάζειν, αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ἱππέων δ' εἰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας· ἐφ' οὓς Ἀννίβας ἐλάττους ἔχων δισμυρίων ἐπέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

(ii. 24.)

XIX. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς σαφέστερον ἐκποιήσει κατανοεῖν· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κατάραντες εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπεπορεύοντο τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες ἀδεῶς, οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντιταττομένου τέλος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὥρμησαν τὴν Ῥώμην. ἤδη δ' αὐτῶν περὶ πόλιν ὄντων ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Κλούσιον, ἀπέχει δ' ἡμερῶν τριῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, προσαγγέλλεται διότι κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἕπονται καὶ συνάπτουσιν αἱ προκαθήμεναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ δυνάμεις. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀπήντων, σπεύδοντες τούτοις συμβαλεῖν. ἐγγίσαντες δ' ἀλλήλοις ἤδη περὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου, τότε μὲν ἐν συμμέτρῳ διαστήματι καταστρατοπεδεύσαντες ηὐλίσθησαν ἀμφότεροι· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ ἀνακαύσαντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀπέλιπον, συντάξαντες ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ συμφανεῖς γενομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχωρεῖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν στίβον, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαθραίαν ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν Φαισόλαν αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον, πρόθεσιν ἔχοντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππεῖς, ἅμα δὲ παραδόξως ἐνοχλῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἔφοδον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἡμέρας

and twenty-three thousand horse; so that the grand total of the forces actually defending Rome was over 150,000 foot, 6000 cavalry: and of the men able to bear arms, Romans and allies, over 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse; while Hannibal, when he invaded Italy, had less than 20,000 to put against this immense force.

XIX. There will be another opportunity of treating the subject in greater detail; for the present I must return to the Celts. Having entered Etruria, they began their march through the country, devastating it as they chose, and without any hindrance; and finally directed their course against Rome itself. But when they were encamped under the walls of Clusium, which is three days' march from Rome, news was brought them that the Roman forces, which were on duty in Etruria, were following on their rear and were close upon them; upon which they turned back against them, eager to give them battle. The two armies came in sight of each other about sunset, and encamped for the night a short distance apart. But when night fell, the Celts lit their watch-fires; and leaving their cavalry on the ground, with instructions that, as soon as daylight made them visible to the enemy, they should follow by the same route, they made a secret retreat along the road to Faesulae, and took up their position there; that they might be joined by their own cavalry, and might disconcert the attack of the enemy. Accordingly, when at daybreak the Romans saw that the cavalry

Romans routed near Faesulae. B.C. 225.

ἐπιγενομένης συνιδόντες τοὺς ἱππεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ νομίσαντες τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀποδεδρακέναι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἠκολούθουν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποχώρησιν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ συνεγγίζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις διαναστάντων τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ συμπεσόντων αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀγὼν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν βίαιος. τέλος δὲ καθυπερεχόντων τῶν Κελτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ καὶ τῷ πλήθει συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑξακισχιλίων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς φεύγειν· ὧν οἱ πλείους πρός τινα τόπον ἐρυμνὸν ἀποχωρήσαντες ἔμενον. οὓς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Κελτοὶ πολιορκεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο· κακῶς δ' ἀπαλλάττοντες ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πορείας καὶ κακοπαθείας καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ὥρμησαν πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ θεραπείαν, φυλακὴν ἀπολιπόντες τῶν ἰδίων ἱππέων περὶ τὸν λόφον, πρόθεσιν ἔχοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν πολιορκεῖν τοὺς συμπεφευγότας, ἐὰν μὴ παραδῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἑκουσίως.

(ii. 25.)

XX. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος ὁ προκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τόπων, ἀκούσας τοὺς Κελτοὺς διὰ Τυρρηνίας ἐμβεβληκότας συνεγγίζειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρῆν βοηθῶν καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν εὐτυχῶς εἰς δέοντα καιρόν. καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ σύνεγγυς τῶν πολεμίων, κατιδόντες τὰ πυρὰ καὶ νοήσαντες τὸ γεγονὸς οἱ συμπεφευγότες ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ταχέως ἀναθαρρήσαντες ἐξαπέστειλαν αὐτῶν τινας τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνόπλους διὰ τῆς ὕλης ἀναγγελοῦντας τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ συμβεβηκός. ὁ δὲ διακούσας, καὶ θεωρῶν οὐδὲ διαβούλιον αὐτῷ καταλειπόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, τοῖς μὲν χιλιάρχοις ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ παρήγγειλε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐξάγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καθηγεῖτο

were alone, they believed that the Celts had fled, and hastened in pursuit of the retreating horse; but when they approached the spot where the enemy were stationed, the Celts suddenly left their position and fell upon them. The struggle was at first maintained with fury on both sides, but the courage and superior numbers of the Celts eventually gave them the victory. No less than six thousand Romans fell; while the rest fled, most of whom made their way to a certain strongly fortified height, and there remained. The first impulse of the Celts was to besiege them, but they were worn out by the previous night's march, and all the suffering and fatigue of the day; leaving therefore a detachment of cavalry to keep guard round the hill, they hastened to procure rest and refreshment, resolving to besiege the fugitives next day unless they voluntarily surrendered.

XX. But meanwhile Lucius Aemilius, who had been stationed on the coast of the Adriatic at Ariminum, having been informed that the Celts had entered Etruria and were approaching Rome, set off to the rescue; and after a rapid march appeared on the scene just at the critical moment. He pitched his camp close to the enemy; and the fugitives on the hill seeing his watch-fires, and understanding what had happened, quickly recovered their courage and sent some of their men unarmed to make their way through the forest and tell the consul what had occurred. This news left the consul, as he thought, no alternative but to fight. He therefore ordered the

τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸν προειρημένον βουνόν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγεμόνες ἀφορῶντες τὰ πυρὰ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ συλλογιζόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων συνήδρευον. οἷς Ἀνηροέστης ὁ βασιλεὺς γνώμην εἰσέφερε λέγων ὅτι δεῖ τοσαύτης λείας ἐγκρατεῖς γεγονότας—ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τὸ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων πλῆθος, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἧς εἶχον, ἀμύθητον· διόπερ ἔφη δεῖν μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἔτι μηδὲ παραβάλλεσθαι τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδεῶς ἐπανάγειν, ταῦτα δ' ἀποσκευασαμένους καὶ γενομένους εὐζώνους αὖθις ἐγχειρεῖν ὁλοσχερῶς, ἐὰν δοκῇ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασιν. δόξαντος δὲ σφίσι κατὰ τὴν Ἀνηροέστου γνώμην χρήσασθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὗτοι μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, πρὸ φωτὸς ἀναζεύξαντες προῆγον παρὰ θάλατταν διὰ τῆς Τυρρηνῶν χώρας· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ βουνοῦ τὸ διασῳζόμενον τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέρος ἅμα ταῖς ἰδίαις δυνάμεσι τὸ μὲν διακινδυνεύειν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδαμῶς ἔκρινε συμφέρειν, ἐπιτηρεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον καιροὺς καὶ τόπους εὐφυεῖς ἑπόμενος, ἐάν πού τι βλάψαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τῆς λείας ἀποσπάσαι δυνηθῇ.

(ii. 26.)

XXI. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ἐκ Σαρδόνος μετὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων Γάιος Ἀτίλιος ὕπατος εἰς Πίσας καταπεπλευκὼς προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐναντίαν ποιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πορείαν. ἤδη δὲ περὶ Τελαμῶνα τῆς Τυρρηνίας τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οἱ

tribunes to lead out the infantry at daybreak, while he, taking command of the cavalry, led the way towards the hill. The Gallic chieftains, too, had seen his watch-fires, and understood that the enemy was come; and at once held a council of war. The advice of King Aneroestes was, 'that seeing the amount of booty they had taken,—an incalculable quantity indeed of captives, cattle, and other spoil,—they had better not run the risk of another engagement, but return home in safety; and having disposed of this booty, and freed themselves from its incumbrance, return, if they thought good, to make another determined attack on Rome.' Having resolved to follow the advice of Aneroestes in the present juncture, the chiefs broke up their night council, and before daybreak struck camp, and marched through Etruria by the road which follows the coast of the Ligurian bay: while Lucius, having taken off the remnant of the army from the hill, and combined it with his own forces, came to the decision that it would not be by any means advantageous to offer the enemy regular battle; but that it was better to dog their footsteps, watching for favourable times and places at which to inflict damage upon them, or wrest some of their booty from their hands.

Celts defeated near Pisa. B.C. 225.

XXI. Just at that time the consul Gaius Atilius had crossed from Sardinia, and having landed at Pisae was on his way to Rome; and therefore he and the enemy were advancing to meet each other. When the Celts were at Telamon in Etruria, their

προνομεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Γαΐου προπορευομένους ἐάλωσαν, καὶ τά τε προγεγονότα διεσάφουν ἀνακρινόμενοι τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀνήγγελλον, σημαίνοντες διότι τελείως σύνεγγύς εἰσιν οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ τούτων κατόπιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ξενισθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς προσπίπτουσι, τὰ δ' εὔελπις γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν μέσους κατὰ πορείαν ἀπειληφέναι τοὺς Κελτούς, τοῖς μὲν χιλιάρχοις παρήγγειλε τάττειν τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ βάδην εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν προάγειν, καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἱ τόποι προσδέχωνται τὴν μετωπηδὸν ἔφοδον· αὐτὸς δὲ συνθεωρήσας εὐκαίρως λόφον κείμενον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδόν, ὑφ' ὃν ἔδει παραπορευθῆναι τοὺς Κελτούς, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὥρμησε σπεύδων προκαταλαβέσθαι τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν καὶ πρῶτος κατάρξαι τοῦ κινδύνου, πεπεισμένος τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῶν ἐκβαινόντων πλεῖστον οὕτω κληρονομήσειν. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀτίλιον ἀγνοοῦντες, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον περιπεπορεῦσθαι τὴν νύκτα τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς τόπους, εὐθέως ἐξαπέστελλον τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἱππεῖς καί τινας τῶν εὐζώνων ἀντιποιησομένους τῶν κατὰ τὸν βουνὸν τόπων. ταχὺ δὲ συνέντες τὴν τοῦ Γαΐου παρουσίαν ἔκ τινος τῶν ἀχθέντων αἰχμαλώτων σπουδῇ παρενέβαλον τοὺς πεζούς, ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔκταξιν ἅμα πρὸς ἑκατέραν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν,

advanced guard fell in with that of Gaius, and the men being made prisoners informed the consul, in answer to questions, of what had taken place; and told him that both the armies were in the neighbourhood: namely, that of the Celts, and that of Lucius close upon their rear. Though somewhat disturbed at the events which he thus learnt, Gaius regarded the situation as a hopeful one, when he considered that the Celts were on the road between two hostile armies. He therefore ordered the tribunes to marshal the legions and to advance at the ordinary pace, and in line as far as the breadth of the ground permitted; while he himself, having surveyed a piece of rising ground which commanded the road, and under which the Celts must march, took his cavalry with him and hurried on to seize the eminence, and so begin the battle in person; convinced that by those means he would get the principal credit of the action for himself. At first the Celts, not knowing anything about the presence of Gaius Atilius, but supposing from what was taking place that the cavalry of Aemilius had outmarched them in the night, and were seizing the points of vantage in the van of their route, immediately detached some cavalry and light armed troops to dispute the possession of this eminence. But having shortly afterwards learnt the truth about the presence of Gaius from a prisoner who was brought in, they hurriedly got their infantry into position, and drew them up so as to face each way, some, that is, to the front and others to the rear. For they knew that one

καὶ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς καὶ τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον· οὓς μὲν γὰρ ἤδεσαν ἑπομένους αὐτοῖς, οὓς δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα προσεδόκων ἀπαντήσειν, ἔκ τε τῶν προσαγγελλομένων τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν συμβαινόντων.

(ii. 27.)

XXII. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀκηκοότες μὲν τὸν εἰς τὰς Πίσας κατάπλουν τῶν στρατοπέδων, οὔπω δὲ προσδοκῶντες αὐτὰ συνεγγίζειν, τότε σαφῶς ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόφον ἀγῶνος ἔγνωσαν διότι τελέως ἐγγὺς εἶναι συμβαίνει τὰς οἰκείας αὐτῶν δυνάμεις· διὸ καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς παραυτίκα βοηθήσοντας ἐξαπέστελλον τοῖς ἐν τῷ λόφῳ διαγωνιζομένοις, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς εἰθισμένας τάξεις διακοσμήσαντες τοὺς πεζοὺς προῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἄλπεων Γαισάτους προσαγορευομένους ἔταξαν πρὸς τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς ἐπιφάνειαν, ᾗ προσεδόκων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Ἰνσομβρας· πρὸς δὲ τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοὺς Ταυρίσκους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Πάδου κατοικοῦντας Βοίους παρενέβαλον, τὴν ἐναντίαν μὲν στάσιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προειρημένοις, βλέποντας δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τοῦ Γαΐου στρατοπέδων ἔφοδον. τὰς δ' ἁμάξας καὶ συνωρίδας ἐκτὸς ἑκατέρου τοῦ κέρατος παρέστησαν, τὴν δὲ λείαν εἴς τι τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρῶν φυλακὴν περιστήσαντες ἤθροιζον. γενομένης δ' ἀμφιστόμου τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν δυνάμεως οὐ μόνον καταπληκτικὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρακτικὴν εἶναι συνέβαινε τὴν τάξιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰνσομβρες καὶ Βοῖοι τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες καὶ τοὺς εὐπετεῖς τῶν σάγων περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέταξαν· οἱ δὲ Γαισάται διά τε τὴν φιλοδοξίαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ταῦτ' ἀπορρίψαντες γυμνοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὅπλων πρῶτοι τῆς δυνάμεως κατέστησαν, ὑπολαβόντες οὕτως ἔσεσθαι πρακτικώτατοι διὰ τό τινας τῶν τόπων βατώδεις ὄντας ἐμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐφάμμασι καὶ παραποδίζειν τὴν τῶν ὅπλων

army was following on their rear, and they expected from the intelligence that had reached them, and from what they saw actually occurring, that they would have to meet another on their front.

XXII. Aemilius had heard of the landing of the legions at Pisae, but had not expected them to be already so far on their road; but the struggle for the eminence showed him that the two armies were quite close. He accordingly dispatched his horse at once to support the struggle for the possession of the hill, while he marshalled his foot in their usual order, and advanced to attack the enemy who barred his way. The Celts had stationed the Alpine tribe of the Gaesatae to face their enemies on the rear, and behind them the Insubres; on their front they had placed the Taurisci, and the Cispadane tribe of the Boii, facing the legions of Gaius. Their wagons and chariots they placed on the extreme of both wings, while the booty they massed upon one of the hills that skirted the road, under the protection of a guard. The army of the Celts was thus double-faced. Their mode of marshalling their forces was effective as well as calculated to inspire terror. The Insubres and Boii were clothed in their breeches and light cloaks; but the Gaesatae from vanity and bravado threw these garments away, and fell in in front of the army naked, with nothing but their arms; believing that, as the ground was in parts encumbered with brambles, which might possibly catch in their clothes and impede the use of their weapons, they would be more

Appearance in battle.

χρείαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτὸς ὁ κατὰ τὸν λόφον ἐνειστήκει κίνδυνος, ἅπασιν ὢν σύνοπτος ὡς ἂν ἅμα τοσούτου πλήθους ἱππέων ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναμὶξ ἀλλήλοις συμπεπτωκότος. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ συνέβη Γάιον μὲν τὸν ὕπατον παραβόλως ἀγωνιζόμενον ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπανενεχθῆναι τῶν Κελτῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς κινδυνεύσαντας ἐρρωμένως τέλος ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπεναντίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν πεζικῶν στρατοπέδων ἤδη σύνεγγυς ὄντων ἀλλήλοις, ἴδιον ἦν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὸ συμβαῖνον οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ τότε παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ποτὲ μετὰ ταῦτα δυναμένοις ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων τὸ γεγονός.

(ii. 28.)

XXIII. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τριῶν στρατοπέδων τῆς μάχης συνισταμένης, δῆλον ὡς ξένην καὶ παρηλλαγμένην εἰκὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὴν χρείαν φαίνεσθαι τοῦ συντεταγμένου· δεύτερον δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις καὶ νῦν καὶ τότε παρ' αὐτὸν ὢν τὸν καιρὸν πότερον οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἐπισφαλεστάτην εἶχον χώραν, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν ἅμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαγόντων αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοὐναντίον τὴν ἐπιτευκτικωτάτην, ἅμα μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, ἅμα δὲ τὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζοντες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀποκεκλειμένης πάσης τῆς εἰς τοὔπισθεν ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι σωτηρίας· ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀμφιστόμου τάξεως ἰδιότης τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν χρείαν. τούς γε μὴν Ῥωμαίους τὰ μὲν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίει τὸ μέσους καὶ πάντοθεν περιειληφέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ὁ κόσμος αὐτοὺς καὶ θόρυβος ἐξέπληττε τῆς τῶν

effective in this state. At first the only actual fighting was that for the possession of the hill; and the numbers of the cavalry, from all three armies, that had joined in the struggle made it a conspicuous sight for all. In the midst of it the consul Gaius fell, fighting with reckless bravery in the thick of the battle, and his head was brought to the king of the Celts. The Roman cavalry, however, continued the struggle with spirit, and finally won the position and overpowered their opponents. Then the foot also came to close quarters. It was surely a singular and surprising battle to witness, and scarcely less so to hear described.

XXIII. A battle, to begin with, in which three distinct armies were engaged, must have presented a strange and unusual appearance, and must have been fought under strange and unusual conditions. Again, it must have seemed to a spectator open to question whether the position of the Celts was the most dangerous conceivable, from being between two attacking forces; or the most favourable, as enabling them to meet both armies at once, while their own two divisions afforded each other a mutual support; and, above all, as putting retreat out of the question, or any hope of safety except in victory. For this is the peculiar advantage of having an army facing in both directions. The Romans, on the other hand, while encouraged by having got their enemy between two of their own armies, were at the same time dismayed by the ornaments and clamour of the Celtic host.

Appearance of Celts in battle.

Κελτῶν δυνάμεως. ἀναρίθμητον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν βυκανητῶν καὶ σαλπιγκτῶν πλῆθος, οἷς ἅμα τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου συμπαιανίζοντος τηλικαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι κραυγὴν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὰς σάλπιγγας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρακειμένους τόπους συνηχοῦντας ἐξ αὐτῶν δοκεῖν προΐεσθαι φωνήν· ἐκπληκτικὴ δ' ἦν καὶ τῶν γυμνῶν προεστώτων ἀνδρῶν ἥ τ' ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κίνησις ὡς ἂν διαφερόντων ταῖς ἀκμαῖς καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι. πάντες δ' οἱ τὰς πρώτας κατέχοντες σπείρας χρυσοῖς μανιάκαις καὶ περιχείροις ἦσαν κατακεκοσμημένοι. πρὸς ἃ βλέποντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν ἐξεπλήττοντο, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς ἐλπίδος ἀγόμενοι διπλασίως παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

(ii. 29.)

XXIV. Πλὴν ἅμα τῷ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς προελθόντας ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμὸν εἰσακοντίζειν ἐνεργοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς τοῖς βέλεσιν, τοῖς μὲν ὀπίσω τῶν Κελτῶν πολλὴν εὐχρηστίαν οἱ σάγοι μετὰ τῶν ἀναξυρίδων παρεῖχον, τοῖς δὲ γυμνοῖς προεστῶσι παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τοῦ πράγματος συμβαίνοντος τἀναντία πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ δυσχρηστίαν παρεῖχε τὸ γινόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δυναμένου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ θυρεοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα περισκέπειν, ὅσῳ γυμνὰ καὶ μείζω τὰ σώματ' ἦν, τοσούτῳ συνέβαινε μᾶλλον τὰ βέλη πίπτειν ἔνδον. τέλος δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι μὲν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς εἰσακοντίζοντας διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πιπτόντων βελῶν, περικακοῦντες δὲ καὶ δυσχρηστούμενοι τοῖς παροῦσιν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀλογιστίας εἰκῇ προσπίπτοντες καὶ διδόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑκουσίως ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς φίλους ἀναχωροῦντες

For there were among them such innumerable horns and trumpets, which were being blown at the same time from all parts of their army, and their cries were so loud and piercing, that the noise seemed to come not from human voices and trumpets but from the whole country-side at once. Not less terrifying was the appearance and rapid movement of the naked warriors in the van, which showed men in the prime of their strength and beauty: while all the warriors in the front ranks were richly adorned in gold necklaces and bracelets. These sights certainly dismayed the Romans; still the hope they gave of a profitable victory redoubled their eagerness for the battle.

XXIV. When the men who were armed with the *pilum* advanced in front of the legions, in accordance with the regular method of Roman warfare, and hurled their *pila* in rapid and effective volleys, the inner ranks of the Celts found their jerkins and leather breeches of great service; but to the naked men in the front ranks this unexpected mode of attack caused great distress and discomfiture. For the Gallic shields not being big enough to cover the man, the larger the naked body the more certainty was there of the *pilum* hitting. And at last, not being able to retaliate, for the pilum-throwers were out of reach, and their weapons kept pouring in, some of them, in the extremity of their distress and helplessness, threw themselves with desperate courage and reckless violence upon the enemy, and thus met a voluntary death; while others gave ground step by step towards

Their weapons.

ἐπὶ πόδα καὶ προδήλως ἀποδειλιῶντες διέστρεφον τοὺς κατόπιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν Γαισάτων φρόνημα παρὰ τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατελύθη, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων καὶ Βοίων ἔτι δὲ Ταυρίσκων πλῆθος, ἅμα τῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεξαμένους τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀκοντιστὰς προσβάλλειν σφίσι τὰς σπείρας, συμπεσὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ χειρὸς ἐποίει μάχην ἐχυράν· διακοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἔμενον ἐπ' ἴσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα λειπόμενοι, ταῖς τῶν ὅπλων κατασκευαῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν θυρεοὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, αἱ δὲ μάχαιραι πρὸς πρᾶξιν μεγάλην διαφορὰν * * * ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ Γαλατικὴν καταφορὰν ἔχειν μόνον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων καὶ κατὰ κέρας οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου προσέφερον τὰς χεῖρας ἐρρωμένως, τόθ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς παρατάξεως τόπῳ κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.

(ii. 30.)

XXV. Ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν τῶν Κελτῶν εἰς τετρακισμυρίους, ἑάλωσαν δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν βασιλέων Κογκολιτάνος. ὁ δ' ἕτερος αὐτῶν Ἀνηρόεστος, εἷς τινα τόπον συμφυγὼν μετ' ὀλίγων, προσήνεγκε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ μὲν σκῦλα συναθροίσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε, τὴν δὲ λείαν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν. αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ διελθὼν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Λιγυστικὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν Βοίων ἐνέβαλε χώραν. πληρώσας δὲ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν στρατο-

their own friends, whom they threw into confusion by this manifest acknowledgment of their panic. Thus the courage of the Gaesatae had broken down before the preliminary attack of the *pilum*. But when the throwers of it had rejoined their ranks, and the whole Roman line charged, the Insubres, Boii, and Taurisci received the attack, and maintained a desperate hand-to-hand fight. Though almost cut to pieces, they held their ground with unabated courage, in spite of the fact that man for man, as well as collectively, they were inferior to the Romans in point of arms. The shields and swords of the latter were proved to be manifestly superior for defence and attack, for the Gallic sword can only deliver a cut, but cannot thrust. And when, besides, the Roman horse charged down from the high ground on their flank, and attacked them vigorously, the infantry of the Celts were cut to pieces on the field, while their horse turned and fled.

XXV. Forty thousand of them were slain, and quite ten thousand taken prisoners, among whom was one of their kings, Concolitanus; the other king, Aneroestes, fled with a few followers, joined a few of his people in escaping to a place of security, and there put an end to his own life and that of his friends. Lucius Aemilius, the surviving consul, collected the spoils of the slain and sent them to Rome, and restored the property taken by the Galatae to its owners. Then taking command of the legions, he marched along the frontiers of Liguria, and made

Suicide of Celtic chieftain and guard.

πέδων τῆς ὠφελείας, ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἦκεν μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν Καπετώλιον ἐκόσμησε ταῖς τε σημαίαις καὶ τοῖς μανιάκαις (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ χρυσοῦν ψέλλιον, ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται), τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς σκύλοις καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον ἐχρήσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θριάμβου διακόσμησιν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν βαρυτάτη τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφοδος οὕτω καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεφθάρη, πᾶσι μὲν Ἰταλιώταις, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μέγαν καὶ φοβερὸν ἐπικρεμάσασα κίνδυνον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος τούτου κατελπίσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τόπων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὁλοσχερῶς ἐκβαλεῖν, τούς τε μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθέντας ὑπάτους Κόιντον Φουλούιον καὶ Τίτον Μάλιον ἀμφοτέρους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις μετὰ παρασκευῆς μεγάλης ἐξαπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτούς. οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν Βοίους ἐξ ἐφόδου καταπληξάμενοι συνηνάγκασαν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτοὺς δοῦναι πίστιν, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατείας, ἐπιγενομένων ὄμβρων ἐξαισίων, ἔτι δὲ λοιμικῆς διαθέσεως ἐμπεσούσης αὐτοῖς, εἰς τέλος ἄπρακτον εἶχον·

(ii. 31.)

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους κατασταθέντες Πόπλιος Φούριος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος αὖθις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀνάρων χώρας, οἷς συμβαίνει μὴ μακρὰν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας[1] ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν· οὓς εἰς τὴν φιλίαν προσαγαγόμενοι διέβησαν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων γῆν κατὰ τὰς συρροίας τοῦ τ' Ἀδόα καὶ Πάδου ποταμοῦ. λαβόντες δὲ πληγὰς περί τε τὴν διάβασιν καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν

[1] Others, considering this march too long, read Ἀναμάρων . . . Πλακεντίας. It seems impossible that the Roman march should have extended to Marseilles.

a raid upon the territory of the Boii; and having satisfied the desires of the legions with plunder, returned with his forces to Rome in a few days' march. There he adorned the Capitol with the captured standards and necklaces, which are gold chains worn by the Galatae round their necks; but the rest of the spoils, and the captives, he converted to the benefit of his own estate and to the adornment of his triumph.

Thus was the most formidable Celtic invasion repelled, which had been regarded by all Italians, and especially by the Romans, as a danger of the utmost gravity. The victory inspired the Romans with the hope that they might be able to entirely expel the Celts from the valley of the Po: and accordingly the consuls of the next year, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Titus Manlius Torquatus, were both sent out with their legions, and military preparations on a large scale, against them. By a rapid attack they terrified the Boii into making submission to Rome; but the campaign had no other practical effect, because, during the rest of it, there was a season of excessive rains, and an outbreak of pestilence in the army.

Result of Roman victory. B.C. 224.

XXVI. The consuls for the next year, however, Publius Furius Philus and Caius Flaminius, once more invaded the Celtic lands, marching through the territory of the Anares, who lived not far from Marseilles.[1] Having secured the friendship of this tribe, they crossed into the country of the Insubres, near the confluence of the Adda and Po. They suffered some

B.C. 223.

παραυτίκα μὲν ἔμειναν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σπεισάμενοι καθ' ὁμολογίαν ἀνέλυσαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων. περιελθόντες δὲ πλείους ἡμέρας καὶ διελθόντες τὸν Κλούσιον ποταμὸν ἦλθον εἰς τὴν τῶν Γονομάνων χώραν, καὶ προσλαβόντες τούτους ὄντας συμμάχους ἐνέβαλον πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις τόπων εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων πεδία, καὶ τήν τε γῆν ἐδῄουν καὶ τὰς κατοικίας αὐτῶν ἐξεπόρθουν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων προεστῶτες θεωροῦντες ἀμετάθετον οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἔκριναν τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πεῖραν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁλοσχερῶς. συναθροίσαντες οὖν ἁπάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπὶ ταὐτόν, καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς σημαίας τὰς ἀκινήτους λεγομένας καθελόντες ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ, καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευασάμενοι δεόντως, μετὰ ταῦτα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος εἰς πέντε μυριάδας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν ὁρῶντες σφᾶς ἐλάττους ὄντας παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐβούλοντο συγχρῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν συμμαχούντων αὐτοῖς Κελτῶν δυνάμεσι· τὰ δὲ συλλογισάμενοι τήν τε Γαλατικὴν ἀθεσίαν καὶ διότι πρὸς ὁμοφύλους τῶν προσλαμβανομένων μέλλουσι ποιεῖσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, εὐλαβοῦντο τοιούτοις ἀνδράσιν τοιούτου καιροῦ καὶ πράγματος κοινωνεῖν. τέλος δ' οὖν αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπέμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν σφίσι συνόντας διαβιβάσαντες εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀνέσπασαν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥείθρου γεφύρας, ἅμα μὲν ἀσφαλιζό-

annoyance from the enemy, as they were crossing the river, and as they were pitching their camp, and after remaining for a short time, they made terms with the Insubres and left their country. After a circuitous march of several days they crossed the river Chiese, and came into the territory of the Cenomani. As these people were allies of Rome, they reinforced the army with some of their men, which then descended once more from the Alpine regions into the plains belonging to the Insubres, and began laying waste their land and plundering their houses. The Insubrian chiefs, seeing that nothing could change the determination of the Romans to destroy them, determined that they had better try their fortune in a great and decisive battle. They therefore mustered all their forces, took down from the temple of Minerva the golden standards, which are called 'the immovables,' and having made other necessary preparations, in high spirits and in formidable array, encamped to the number of fifty thousand opposite to their enemies. Seeing themselves thus outnumbered, the Romans at first determined to avail themselves of the forces of the allied Celtic tribes; but when they reflected on the fickle character of the Galatae, and that they were about to fight an enemy of the same race as these auxiliary troops, they hesitated to associate such men with themselves, at a crisis of such danger, and in an action of such importance. However, they finally decided on this plan. They themselves stayed on the side of the river

Insubrians rendered desperate.

μενοι τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους, ἅμα δὲ μίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολείποντες ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐν τῷ νικᾶν διὰ τὸ κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἄβατον ὄντα παρακεῖσθαι τὸν προειρημένον ποταμόν. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ διακινδυνεύειν ἦσαν.

(ii. 32.)

XXVII. *Δοκοῦσι δ' ἐμφρόνως κεχρῆσθαι τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, τῶν χιλιάρχων ὑποδειξάντων ὡς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστους. συνεωρακότες γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγεγονότων κινδύνων ὅτι τοῖς τε θυμοῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον, ἕως ἂν ἀκέραιον ᾖ, φοβερώτατόν ἐστι πᾶν τὸ Γαλατικὸν φῦλον, αἵ τε μάχαιραι ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, μίαν ἔχουσι τὴν πρώτην καταφορὰν καιρίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εὐθέως ἀποξυστροῦνται καμπτόμεναι κατὰ μῆκος καὶ κατὰ πλάτος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστ' ἐὰν μὴ δῷ τις ἀναστροφὴν τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐρείσαντας πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀπευθῦναι τῷ ποδί, τελέως ἄπρακτον εἶναι τὴν δευτέραν πληγὴν αὐτῶν,—ἀναδόντες οὖν οἱ χιλίαρχοι τὰ τῶν τριαρίων δόρατα τῶν κατόπιν ἐφεστώτων ταῖς πρώταις σπείραις, καὶ παραγγείλαντες ἐκ μεταλήψεως τοῖς ξίφεσι χρῆσθαι, συνέ-*

[1] Plutarch, *Camillus*, 41, copies this, and Polyen, *Stratag.* viii. 7, copies from Plutarch. It is only in these Greek writers that we read of the bad quality of Celtic swords. Latin writers made no mention of such a striking defect in the arms of their dreaded foes: on the contrary, Pliny quotes from Varro that a Helvetian, named Helicon, resided in Rome teaching the industrial arts of his native land. Archeologists are agreed that the Celtic swords, &c. of La Tene are of excellent iron. So are all those to be seen in our museums. S. Reinach attempted to distort some Celtic swords in the Musée de Saint-Germain, but found that no amount of percussion that a man could apply was sufficient to bend these swords. How, then, was so careful a writer as Polybius misled? We know that the Celts settled in the Cisalpine, circa 1000 B.C. (see *supra*, p. 178, note 1). In their cemeteries, and in the cemeteries of these Celts all over Europe, we find many examples of bent swords. Polybius visited the Cisalpine after the Roman colonisation consequent on the defeat of the Celts related above. The Romans, after the fashion of colonists, ransacked the graves, &c. of the country. In them they found many bent swords. The graves and swords were attributed to their recently defeated

next the enemy: and sending the Celtic contingents to the other side, they pulled up the bridges; which at once precluded any fear of danger from them, and left themselves no hope of safety except in victory; the impassable river being thus in their rear. These dispositions made, they were ready to engage.

XXVII. The Romans are thought to have shown uncommon skill in this battle; the tribunes instructed the troops how they were to conduct themselves both collectively and individually. They had learned from former engagements that Gallic tribes were always most formidable at the first onslaught, before their courage was at all damped by a check; and that the swords with which they were furnished, as I have mentioned before, could only give one downward cut with any effect, but that after this the edges got so turned, and the blade so bent, that unless they had time to straighten them with their foot against the ground, they could not deliver a second blow. The tribunes therefore gave out the spears of the Triarii, who are the last of the three ranks, to the first ranks, or Hastati; and ordering the men to use their swords only, after their spears were done with, they charged the Celts full in front. When the Celts had rendered their swords useless by the first blows delivered on the spears, the Romans closed

Inferior swords of Celts.[1]

foes of the *second* Celtic invasion. Polybius, who was shown these swords, also assigned them to the same source; for all memory of the first Celtic settlers had been lost. Why were these swords bent? They were *intentionally* bent in obedience to the same rite that commanded the Greeks to place *broken* vases beside their dead. Cf. Reinach, *L'Anthropologie*, 1906, pp. 321-336.

βαλον ἐκ παρατάξεως κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῖς Κελτοῖς. ἅμα δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ταῖς πρώταις καταφοραῖς χρωμένων τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀχρειωθῆναι τὰς μαχαίρας συνδραμόντες εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοὺς μὲν Κελτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἐποίησαν ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ἐκ διάρσεως αὐτῶν μάχην, ὅπερ ἴδιόν ἐστι Γαλατικῆς χρείας διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς κέντημα τὸ ξίφος ἔχειν· αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκ καταφορᾶς ἀλλ' ἐκ διαλήψεως ὀρθαῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς μαχαίραις, πρακτικοῦ τοῦ κεντήματος περὶ αὐτὰς ὑπάρχοντος, τύπτοντες εἰς τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ πληγὴν ἐπὶ πληγῇ φέροντες διέφθειραν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν παραταξαμένων διὰ τὴν τῶν χιλιάρχων πρόνοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατηγὸς Φλαμίνιος οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ κεχρῆσθαι τῷ προειρημένῳ κινδύνῳ. παρ' αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν ὀφρὺν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἔκταξιν διέφθειρε τὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς μάχης ἴδιον, οὐχ ὑπολειπόμενος τόπον πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ πόδα ταῖς σπείραις ἀναχώρησιν· εἰ γὰρ συνέβη βραχὺ μόνον πιεσθῆναι τῇ χώρᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ῥίπτειν ἂν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοὺς ἔδει διὰ τὴν ἀστοχίαν τοῦ προεστῶτος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά γε πολλῷ νικήσαντες ταῖς σφετέραις ἀρεταῖς, καθάπερ εἶπον, καὶ παμπληθοῦς μὲν λείας οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ σκύλων κρατήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

(ii. 33.)

XXVIII. Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει διαπρεσβευσαμένων τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ πᾶν ποιήσειν ὑπισχνουμένων, ἔσπευσαν οἱ κατασταθέντες ὕπατοι Μάρκος Κλαύδιος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος τοῦ μὴ συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ἀποτυχόντες, καὶ κρίναντες ἐξελέγξαι τὰς τελευταίας ἐλπίδας, αὖθις ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μισθοῦσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν

with them, and rendered them quite helpless by preventing them from raising their hands to strike with their swords, which is their characteristic and only stroke, because their blade has no point. The Romans, on the contrary, having excellent points to their swords, used them not only to cut but to thrust; and by thus repeatedly hitting the breasts and faces of the enemy, they eventually killed the greater number of them. And this was due to the foresight of the tribunes: for the consul Flaminius is thought to have made a strategic mistake in his arrangements for this battle. For by drawing up his men along the very brink of the river, he rendered impossible a manœuvre characteristic of Roman tactics, for he left the lines no room for their plan of retrograde movements; for if, in the course of the battle, the men had been forced ever so little from their ground, they would have been obliged, through this blunder of their leaders, to throw themselves into the river. However, the valour of the soldiers secured them a brilliant victory, as I have said, and they returned to Rome with abundance of booty of every kind, and of trophies stripped from the enemy.

Insubrians defeated.

XXVIII. Next year, upon embassies coming from the Celts desiring peace and making unlimited offers of submission, the new consuls, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, were urgent that no peace should be granted them. Thus frustrated, they determined to try a last chance, and once more took active measures to

Romans renew war. B.C. 222.

Ῥοδανὸν Γαισάτων Γαλατῶν εἰς τρισμυρίους· οὓς παραλαβόντες εἶχον ἐν ἑτοίμῳ, καὶ προσεδόκων τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐπιγενομένης ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἦγον εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων χώραν, παραγενόμενοι δὲ καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντες περὶ πόλιν Ἀχέρρας, ἣ μεταξὺ κεῖται τοῦ Πάδου καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεινῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπολιόρκουν ταύτην. οἱ δ' Ἰνσόμβρες βοηθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὸ προκαταληφθῆναι τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τόπους, σπεύδοντες δὲ λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν τῶν Ἀχερρῶν, μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως διαβιβάσαντες τὸν Πάδον εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀνάρων χώραν ἐπολιόρκουν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κλαστίδιον. προσπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἱππεῖς Μάρκος Κλαύδιος καὶ τῶν πεζικῶν * * ἠπείγετο σπεύδων βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ πυθόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν ὑπεναντίων, λύσαντες τὴν πολιορκίαν ὑπήντων καὶ παρετάξαντο. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου τολμηρῶς σφίσι προσπεσόντων τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀντεῖχον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιισταμένων καὶ κατὰ νώτου καὶ κατὰ κέρας δυσχρηστούμενοι τῇ μάχῃ τέλος ἐτράπησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατεκόπησαν. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀχέρρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, σίτου γεμούσας,

hire thirty thousand Gaesatae—the Gallic tribe which lives on the Rhone. Having secured these, they held themselves in readiness, and waited for the attack of their enemies. At the beginning of spring the consuls assumed command of their forces, and marched them into the territory of the Insubres; and there encamped under the walls of the city of Acerrae, which lies between the Po and the Alps, and laid siege to it. The Insubres, being unable to render any assistance, because all the positions of vantage had been seized by the enemy first, and being yet very anxious to raise the siege of Acerrae, detached a portion of their forces to effect a division by crossing the Po and laying siege to Clastidium. Intelligence of this movement being brought to the consuls, Marcus Claudius, taking with him his cavalry and some light infantry, made a forced march to relieve the besieged inhabitants. When the Celts heard of his approach they raised the siege; and, marching out to meet him, offered him battle. At first they held their ground against a furious charge of cavalry which the Roman consul launched at them; but when they presently found themselves surrounded by the enemy on their rear and flank, unable to maintain the fight any longer, they fled before the cavalry; and many of them were driven into the river, and were swept away by the stream, though the larger number were cut down by their enemies. Acerrae also, richly stored with corn, fell into the hands of the Romans: the Galatae having evacuated it, and retired to

ἐκχωρησάντων εἰς τὸ Μεδιόλανον τῶν Γαλατῶν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ κυριώτατος τόπος τῆς τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων χώρας. οἷς ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπακολουθήσαντος τοῦ Γναίου καὶ προσβαλόντος ἄφνω πρὸς τὸ Μεδιόλανον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, ἀπολυομένου δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀχέρρας ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ τῆς οὐραγίας ἁψάμενοι θρασέως πολλοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς ἐποίησαν, μέρος δέ τι καὶ φυγεῖν αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν, ἕως ὁ Γναῖος ἀνακαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πρωτοπορείας παρώρμησε στῆναι καὶ συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πειθαρχήσαντες τῷ στρατηγῷ διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπικειμένους εὐρώστως· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ διὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτύχημα μείναντες ἐπὶ ποσὸν εὐθαρσῶς, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τραπέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰς παρωρείας. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος ἐπακολουθήσας τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τὸ Μεδιόλανον εἷλε κατὰ κράτος· οὗ συμβαίνοντος οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων, ἀπογνόντες τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας, πάντα τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν Ῥωμαίοις.

(ii. 34.)

XXIX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόλεμος τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπολλυμένων καὶ παρατattομένων οὐδενὸς καταδεέστερος τῶν ἱστορημένων, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ τὴν ἀκρισίαν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος χειρισμοῦ τελέως εὐκαταφρόνητος διὰ τὸ μὴ τὸ πλεῖον ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ βραβεύεσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς, συνθεωρήσαντες μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων ἐξωσθέντας πλὴν ὀλίγων τόπων

Mediolanum, which is the most commanding position in the territory of the Insubres. Gnaeus followed them closely, and suddenly appeared at Mediolanum. The Galatae at first did not stir; but upon his starting upon his return march to Acerrae, they sallied forth, and having boldly attacked his rear, killed a good many men, and even drove a part of it into flight; until Gnaeus recalled some of his vanguard, and urged them to stand and engage the enemy. The Roman soldiers obeyed orders, and offered a vigorous resistance to the attacking party. The Celts, encouraged by their success, held their ground for a certain time with some gallantry, but before long turned and fled to the neighbouring mountains. Gnaeus followed them, wasting the country as he went, and took Mediolanum by assault. After this the chiefs of the Insubres, despairing of safety, made a complete and absolute submission to Rome.

Milan taken.

Insubrians submit.

XXIX. Such was the end of the Celtic war, which for the desperate determination and boldness of the enemy, for the obstinacy of the battles fought, and for the number of those who fell and of those who were engaged, is second to none recorded in history, but which, regarded as a specimen of scientific strategy, is utterly contemptible. The Galatae showed no power of planning or carrying out a campaign, and in everything they did were swayed by impulse rather than by sober calculation. As I have seen these tribes, after a short struggle, utterly ejected from the valley of the Po, with the exception of some few localities lying

End of the war.

Gallic tactics criticised.

τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Ἄλπεις κειμένων, οὐκ ᾠήθημεν δεῖν οὔτε τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἀμνημόνευτον παραλιπεῖν οὔτε τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεις οὔτε τὴν τελευταίαν ἐξανάστασιν.

(ii. 35.)

XXX. Ἀσδρούβας δ' ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός (ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων παρεξέβημεν τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἔτη χειρίσας ὀκτὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐτελεύτησε, δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καταλύμασι νυκτὸς ὑπό τινος Κελτοῦ τὸ γένος ἰδίων ἕνεκεν ἀδικημάτων, οὐ μικρὰν ἀλλὰ μεγάλην ποιήσας ἐπίδοσιν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πράγμασιν οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργων ὡς διὰ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας ὁμιλίας.

(ii. 36.)

XXXI. Ἀννίβας δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως ὥρμησεν ὡς καταστρεψόμενος τὸ τῶν Ὀλκάδων ἔθνος, ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς Ἀλθαίαν τὴν βαρυτάτην αὐτῶν πόλιν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρησάμενος ἐνεργοῖς ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικαῖς προσβολαῖς ταχέως ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως· οὗ συμβάντος οἱ λοιποὶ γενόμενοι καταπλαγεῖς ἐνέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.

(iii. 13.)

XXXII. Τῷ δ' ἐπιγινομένῳ θέρει πάλιν ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐακκαίους,[1] Ἑλμαντικὴν μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου ποιησάμενος προσβολὰς κατέσχεν, Ἀρβουκάλην δὲ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔτι δὲ τὴν γενναιότητα τῶν οἰκητόρων μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας πολιορκήσας κατὰ κράτος εἷλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραδόξως εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἦλθε κινδύνους

close to the Alps, I thought I ought not to allow their original attack upon Italy to pass unrecorded, any more than their subsequent attempts, or their final ejection.

B.C. 229–221. Carthaginian policy in Spain.

XXX. Our narrative now returns to Hasdrubal, whom we left in command of the Carthaginian forces in Iberia. After eight years' command in that country, he was assassinated in his own house at night by a certain Celt in revenge for some private wrong. Before his death he had done much to strengthen the Carthaginian influence in Iberia, not so much by military achievements, as by the friendly relations he maintained with the native princes.

B.C. 221.

XXXI. As soon as Hannibal had taken over the command, he set out to subdue the tribe of the Olcades; and, having arrived before their most formidable city Althaea, he pitched his camp under its walls; and by a series of energetic and formidable assaults succeeded before long in taking it: by which exploit the rest of the tribe were overawed into submission to Carthage.

B.C. 220.

XXXII. Next summer he set out on another expedition against the Vaccaei,[1] in which he took Salmantica by assault, but only succeeded in storming Arbucala, owing to the size of the town and the valour of its inhabitants, after a laborious siege. After this he suddenly found himself in a position of great danger on his return march—being set upon by

[1] The Vaccaei dwelt around the districts now covered by the provinces of Salamanca and Zamora. Vide *Revue Celtique*, xv. p. 30.

ἐπανάγων, συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν Καρπησίων, ὃ σχεδὸν ἰσχυρότατόν ἐστιν ἔθνος τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ἀθροισθέντων ἅμα τούτοις, οὓς ἠρέθισαν μάλιστα μὲν οἱ τῶν Ὀλκάδων φυγάδες, συνεξέκαυσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλμαντικῆς οἱ διασωθέντες.

(iii. 14.)

XXXIII. Ἀννίβας δὲ πάντα προνοηθεὶς περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν τε κατὰ Λιβύην πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, λοιπὸν ἐκαραδόκει καὶ προσεδέχετο τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστελλομένους· σαφῶς γὰρ ἐξητάκει καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς ὑπὸ τὰς Ἄλπεις καὶ περὶ τὸν Πάδον ποταμὸν χώρας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτήν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τόλμαν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δυσμένειαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προγεγονότος πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὑπὲρ οὗ διήλθομεν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ χάριν τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς νῦν μέλλουσι λέγεσθαι.[1] διόπερ εἶχετο ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος, καὶ πᾶν ὑπισχνεῖτο διαπεμπόμενος ἐπιμελῶς πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν ἐνοικοῦντας, μόνως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συστήσασθαι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, εἰ δυνηθείη διαπεράσας τὰς πρὸ τοῦ δυσχωρίας εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους ἀφικέσθαι τόπους καὶ συνεργοῖς καὶ συμμάχοις χρήσασθαι Κελτοῖς εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιβολήν. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τήν τε τῶν Κελτῶν βούλησιν καὶ προσδοκίαν ἀπαγγειλάντων, τήν τε τῶν Ἀλπεινῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερβολὴν ἐπίπονον μὲν καὶ δυσχερῆ λίαν, οὐ μὴν ἀδύνατον εἶναι φασκόντων, συνῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς παραχειμασίας ὑπὸ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ὥραν.

(iii. 34.)

[1] *Vide supra, excerpt.* vii–xxix.

the Carpesii, the strongest tribe in those parts, who were joined also by neighbouring tribes, excited principally by refugees of the Olcades, but roused also to great wrath by those who escaped from Salmantica.

XXXIII. Though Hannibal had taken every precaution for the security of Libya and Iberia, he yet waited for the messengers whom he expected to arrive from the Celts. He had thoroughly acquainted himself with the fertility and populousness of the districts at the foot of the Alps and in the valley of the Po, as well as with the warlike courage of the men; but most important of all, with their hostility towards Rome derived from the previous war, which I have described in my last book, with the express purpose of enabling my readers to follow my narrative.[1] He therefore reckoned very much on the chance of their co-operation; and was careful to send messengers to the chiefs of the Celts, whether dwelling actually on the Alps or on the Italian side of them, with unlimited promises; because he believed he would be able to confine the war against Rome to Italy, if he could make his way through the intervening difficulties to those parts, and avail himself of the active alliance of the Celts. When his messengers returned with the report that the Celts were ready to help him and all eagerness for his approach, and that the passage of the Alps, though laborious and difficult, was not, however, impossible, he collected his forces from their winter quarters at the approach of spring.

B.C. 219. Hannibal seeks alliance of Celts against Rome.

B.C. 218.

XXXIV. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Νάρβωνος καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦτον Κελτοὶ νέμονται μέχρι τῶν προσαγορευομένων Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, ἃ διατείνει κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀπὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττης ἕως εἰς τὴν ἐκτός.

(iii. 37.)

XXXV. Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς τῆς μὲν Λιβύης ἐκυρίευον πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕσω θάλατταν νευόντων μερῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλαίνου βωμῶν, οἳ κεῖνται κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην Σύρτιν, ἕως ἐφ' Ἡρακλέους στήλας· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μῆκός ἐστι τῆς παραλίας ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους σταδίους. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν καθ' Ἡρακλείους στήλας πόρον ὁμοίως ἐκεκρατήκεισαν καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἁπάσης ἕως τῆς ῥαχίας, ὃ πέρας ἐστὶ πρὸς τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, ἃ διορίζει τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτούς.

(iii. 39.)

XXXVI. Ἀννίβας μὲν οὖν ἐνεχείρει ταῖς διεκβολαῖς τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, κατάφοβος ὢν τοὺς Κελτοὺς διὰ τὰς ὀχυρότητας τῶν τόπων· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς διακούσαντες μὲν τῶν ἐξαποσταλέντων εἰς Καρχηδόνα πρεσβευτῶν τὰ δεδογμένα καὶ τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους, προσπεσόντος δὲ θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκων Ἀννίβαν διαβεβηκέναι τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, προεχειρίσαντο πέμπειν μετὰ στρατοπέδων Πόπλιον μὲν Κορνήλιον εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, Τεβέριον δὲ Σεμπρώνιον εἰς Λιβύην. ἐν ὅσῳ δ' οὗτοι περὶ τὰς καταγραφὰς ἐγίνοντο τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ἔσπευσαν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας οἳ δὴ πρότερον ἦσαν εἰς Γαλατίαν ἀποστέλλειν προκεχειρισμένοι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἐνεργῶς ἐτείχιζον, τοὺς δ' οἰκήτορας ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα παρήγγειλαν

XXXIV. From Narbo is the district occupied by the Celts as far as the Pyrenees, stretching continuously from the Mediterranean to the Mare Externum.

XXXV. At this period the Carthaginians were masters of the whole Mediterranean coast of Libya from the Altars of Philaenus, opposite the Great Syrtis, to the Pillars of Hercules, a seaboard of over sixteen thousand stades. They had also crossed the strait of the Pillars of Hercules, and got possession of the whole seaboard of Iberia on the Mediterranean as far as the Pyrenees, which separates the Iberes from the Celts—that is, a distance of about eight thousand stades.

XXXVI. While Hannibal was thus engaged in effecting a passage over the Pyrenees, where he was greatly alarmed at the extraordinary strength of the positions occupied by the Celts; the Romans, having heard the unfavourable result of their embassy to Carthage, and that Hannibal had crossed the Iber earlier than they expected, at the head of an army, voted to send Publius Cornelius Scipio with his legions into Iberia, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus into Libya. And while the consuls were engaged in hastening on the enrolment of their legions and other military preparations, the people were active in bringing to completion the colonies which they had already voted to send into Gaul. They accordingly caused the fortification of these towns to be pushed on energetically, and ordered the colonists to be in residence within

B.C. 218.

Placentia and Cremona.

ἐπιτόπους γίνεσθαι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας εἰς ἑκατέραν τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους· ὧν τὴν μὲν μίαν ἔκτιζον ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Πάδου ποταμοῦ, προσαγορεύσαντες Πλακεντίαν, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐπὶ θάτερα, κατονομάσαντες Κρεμώνην. ἤδη δὲ τούτων συνῳκισμένων οἱ Βοῖοι καλούμενοι Γαλάται, πάλαι μὲν οἷον λοχῶντες τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ τότε καιρόν, μετεωριζόμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες ἐκ τῶν διαπεμπομένων τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐγκαταλιπόντες τοὺς ὁμήρους οὓς ἔδοσαν ἐκβαίνοντες ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προγεγονότος, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βύβλῳ ταύτης ἐποιησάμεθα. παρακαλέσαντες δὲ τοὺς Ἰνσομβρας καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κατὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην ὀργὴν κατέσυραν τὴν κατακεκληρουχημένην χώραν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας συνδιώξαντες εἰς Μοτίνην, ἀποικίαν ὑπάρχουσαν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπολιόρκουν. ἐν οἷς καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνέκλεισαν, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς χώρας ἀπεσταλμένους· ὧν εἷς μὲν ἦν Γάιος Λυτάτιος καὶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν εἰληφώς, οἱ δὲ δύο τὴν ἐξαπέλεκυν. οἰομένων δὲ δεῖν τούτων εἰς λόγους σφίσι συνελθεῖν ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Βοῖοι· τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξελθόντων παρασπονδήσαντες συνέλαβον αὐτούς, ἐλπίσαντες διὰ τούτων κομιεῖσθαι τοὺς αὑτῶν ὁμήρους. Λεύκιος δὲ Μάλιος ἐξαπέλεκυς ὑπάρχων καὶ προκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἀκούσας τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδήν. οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι συνέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, ἔν τισι δρυμοῖς ἑτοιμάσαντες ἐνέδρας, ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑλώδεις τόπους πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς

thirty days: six thousand having been assigned to each colony. One of these colonies was on the south bank of the Po, and was named Placentia; the other on the north bank and called Cremona. But no sooner had these colonies been formed, than the Boian Galatae, who had long been lying in wait to throw off the loyalty to Rome, but had up to that time lacked an opportunity, encouraged by the news that reached them of Hannibal's approach, revolted; thus abandoning the hostages they had given at the end of the war described in my last book. The ill-feeling still remaining towards Rome enabled them to induce the Insubres to join in the revolt, and the united tribes swept over the territory recently allotted by the Romans, and following close on the track of the flying colonists, laid siege to the Roman colony of Mutina, in which the fugitives had taken refuge. Among them were the *triumviri* or 'three commissioners' who had been sent out to allot the lands; of whom one—Gaius Lutatius—was an ex-consul and the other two ex-praetors. These men having demanded a parley with the enemy, the Boii consented; but treacherously seized them upon their leaving the town, hoping through them to recover their hostages. The praetor Lucius Manlius was on guard in the district with an army; as soon as he heard what had happened, he advanced with all speed to the relief of Mutina. But the Boii, having received intelligence of his approach, prepared an ambuscade; and as soon as his army had entered a certain wood, they rushed

Boii join Hannibal.

ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὥρμησαν πρὸς φυγήν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν ἥψαντο χωρίων, ἐπὶ ποσὸν συνέστησαν οὕτως ὥστε μόλις εὐσχήμονα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι κατακολουθήσαντες συνέκλεισαν καὶ τούτους εἰς τὴν Τάννητος[1] καλουμένην κώμην. τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσπεσόντος ὅτι τὸ τέταρτον στρατόπεδον περιειλημμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων πολιορκεῖται κατὰ κράτος, τὰ μὲν τῷ Ποπλίῳ προκεχειρισμένα στρατόπεδα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξαπέστελλον ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων βοήθειαν, ἡγεμόνα συστήσαντες ἐξαπέλεκυν, ἄλλα δὲ συνάγειν καὶ καταγράφειν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῷ παρήγγειλαν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἀννίβου παρουσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, καὶ τοιαύτην εἰλήφει διέξοδον οἵαν ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ καὶ νῦν διεληλύθαμεν.

(iii. 40, 41.)

XXXVII. Αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰσήγαγε τοὺς βασιλίσκους τοὺς περὶ Μάγιλον οὗτοι γὰρ ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων), καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέως τὰ δεδογμένα παρ' αὐτῶν διεσάφει τοῖς ὄχλοις. ἦν δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἰσχυρότατα πρὸς θάρσος τῶν πολλῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τῆς παρουσίας ἐνάργεια τῶν ἐπισπωμένων καὶ κοινωνήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένων τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἀξιόπιστον, ὅτι καθηγήσονται διὰ τόπων τοιούτων δι' ὧν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων συντόμως ἅμα καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ποιήσονται

[1] A village near Parma.

out upon it from every side and killed a large number of his men. At first the survivors fled with precipitation: but having gained some higher ground, they rallied sufficiently to enable them with much difficulty to effect an honourable retreat. Even so, the Boii followed close upon their heels, and besieged them in a place called the village of Tannes.[1] When the news arrived at Rome, that the fourth legion was surrounded and closely besieged by the Boii, the people with all haste dispatched the legions which had been voted to Consul Publius, to their relief, under the command of a praetor; and ordered the consul to enrol two more legions for himself from the allies.

Such was the position of Celtic affairs from the beginning to the arrival of Hannibal; thus completing the course of events which I have already had occasion to describe.

Cisalpine Celts join Hannibal. B.C. 218.

XXXVII. These arrangements made, he summoned a meeting of his army and introduced Magilus and the other chiefs who had come to him from the valley of the Po, and caused them to announce to the whole army, through an interpreter, the resolutions passed by their tribes. The points which were the strongest encouragement to the army were, first, the actual appearance of envoys inviting them to come, and promising to take part in the war with Rome; secondly, the confidence inspired by their promise to guide them by a route where they would be abundantly supplied with necessaries, and which would lead them with speed and safety into Italy; and,

τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πορείαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡ τῆς χώρας γενναιότης, εἰς ἣν ἀφίξονται, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ προθυμία, μεθ' ὧν μέλλουσι ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγῶνας πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις.

(iii. 44.)

XXXVIII. Ὁ δὲ Ῥοδανὸς ἔχει τὰς μὲν πηγὰς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν μυχὸν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν νευούσας, ἐν τοῖς ἀποκλίνουσι μέρεσι τῶν Ἄλπεων ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους, ῥεῖ δὲ πρὸς δύσεις χειμερινάς,[1] ἐκβάλλει δ' εἰς τὸ Σαρδῷον πέλαγος. φέρεται δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ δι' αὐλῶνος, οὗ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἄρκτους Ἄρδυες Κελτοὶ[2] κατοικοῦσι, τὴν δ' ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν ὁρίζουσι πᾶσαν αἱ πρὸς ἄρκτον κεκλιμέναι τῶν Ἄλπεων παρώρειαι. τὰ δὲ πεδία τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμῖν εἴρηται διὰ πλειόνων, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν αὐλῶνος διαζευγνύουσιν αἱ τῶν προειρημένων ὀρῶν ἀκρώρειαι, λαμβάνουσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ἀδρία μυχόν· ἃς τόθ' ὑπεράρας Ἀννίβας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν τόπων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

(iii. 47.)

XXXIX. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα πορευθεὶς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀναβολῆς, καὶ συνέβη μεγίστοις αὐτὸν περιπεσεῖν κινδύνοις. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν, ἀπείχοντο πάντες αὐτῶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, τὰ μὲν τοὺς ἱππεῖς δεδιότες τὰ δὲ τοὺς παραπέμποντας βαρβάρους· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἤρξαντο προάγειν εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας, τότε συναθροίσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ἡγεμόνες ἱκανόν τι

lastly, the fertility and vast extent of the country to which they were going, and the friendly feelings of the men with whose assistance they were going to fight Rome.

XXXVIII. The Rhone rises in the north-west of the Adriatic Gulf on the northern slopes of the Alps, and flowing westward,[1] eventually discharges itself into the Sardinian Sea. It flows for the most part through a deep valley, to the north of which lives the Celtic tribe of the Aedui[2]; while its southern side is entirely walled in by the northern slopes of the Alps, the ridges of which, beginning at Marseilles and extending to the head of the Adriatic, separate it from the valley of the Po, of which I have already had occasion to speak at length. It was these mountains that Hannibal now crossed from the Rhone valley into Italy.

Transalpine Celts hostile to Hannibal.

XXXIX. Having in ten days' march accomplished a distance of 800 stades along the river bank, Hannibal began the ascent of the Alps, and immediately found himself involved in the most serious dangers. For as long as the Carthaginians were on the plains, the various chiefs of the Allobroges refrained from attacking them for fear of their cavalry, as well as of the Galatae who were escorting them. But when these last departed back again to their own lands, and Hannibal began to enter the mountainous region, the chiefs of the Allobroges mustered large numbers

[1] These serious errors show that Polybius had a very defective conception of the geography of Western Europe.

[2] So we translate Ἄρδυες Κελτοί.

πλῆθος προκατελάβοντο τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους, δι' ὧν ἔδει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν κατ' ἀνάγκην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔκρυψαν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, ὁλοσχερῶς ἂν διέφθειραν τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων· νῦν δὲ καταφανεῖς γενόμενοι μεγάλα μὲν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀννίβαν ἔβλαψαν, οὐκ ἐλάττω δ' ἑαυτούς. γνοὺς γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅτι προκατέχουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους, αὐτὸς μὲν καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἐπέμενε, προέπεμψε δέ τινας τῶν καθηγουμένων αὐτοῖς Γαλατῶν χάριν τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπίνοιαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν, ὧν πραξάντων τὸ συνταχθέν, ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπιμελῶς παρευτακτοῦσι καὶ τηροῦσι τοὺς τόπους οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας εἴς τινα παρακειμένην πόλιν ἀπαλλάττονται, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἁρμοζόμενος συνεστήσατο πρᾶξιν τοιαύτην. ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐμφανῶς, καὶ συνεγγίσας ταῖς δυσχωρίαις οὐ μακρὰν τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης συντάξας τὰ πυρὰ καίειν, τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε, τοὺς δ' ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εὐζώνους ποιήσας διῆλθε τὰ στενὰ τὴν νύκτα καὶ κατέσχε τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκαταληφθέντας τόπους, ἀποκεχωρηκότων τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

(iii. 50.)

XL. Οὗ συμβάντος καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ

of their tribe and occupied the points of vantage in advance, on the route by which Hannibal's forces were constrained to make their ascent. If they had only kept their design secret, the Carthaginian army would have been entirely destroyed; as it was, their plans became known, and though they did much damage to Hannibal's army they suffered as much themselves. For when the general learnt that the natives were occupying the points of vantage, he halted and pitched his camp at the foot of the pass, and sent forward some of his Gallic guides to reconnoitre the enemy and discover their plan of operations. The order was obeyed: and he ascertained that it was the enemy's practice to keep under arms and guard these posts carefully during the day, but at night to retire to some town in the neighbourhood. Hannibal accordingly adapted his measures to this strategy of the enemy. He marched forward in broad daylight, and as soon as he came to the mountainous part of the road, pitched his camp only a little way from the enemy. At nightfall he gave orders for the watch-fires to be lit, and leaving the main body of his troops in the camp, and selecting the most suitable of his men, he had them armed lightly, and led them through the narrow parts of the road during the night, and seized on the spots which had been previously occupied by the enemy: they having, according to their regular custom, abandoned them for the nearest town.

XL. When day broke the natives saw what had

βάρβαροι συνθεασάμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεωροῦντες τὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς δυσχερῶς ἐκμηρυομένους καὶ μακρῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας, ἐξεκλήθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς πορείας. τούτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ κατὰ πλείω μέρη προσπεσόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τόπων πολὺς ἐγίνετο φθόρος τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων· οὔσης γὰρ οὐ μόνον στενῆς καὶ τραχείας τῆς προσβολῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνώδους, ἀπὸ παντὸς κινήματος καὶ πάσης ταραχῆς ἐφέρετο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὁμόσε τοῖς φορτίοις πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων. καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοιαύτην ταραχὴν ἐποίουν οἱ τραυματιζόμενοι τῶν ἵππων· τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἀντίοι συμπίπτοντες τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις, ὁπότε διαπτοηθεῖεν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ὁρμὴν ἐξωθοῦντες πᾶν τὸ παραπῖπτον ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, μεγάλην ἀπειργάζοντο ταραχήν. εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀννίβας, καὶ συλλογιζόμενος ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς διαφυγοῦσι τὸν κίνδυνον ἔστι σωτηρία τοῦ σκευοφόρου διαφθαρέντος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς προκατασχόντας τὴν νύκτα τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὥρμησε παραβοηθήσων τοῖς τῇ πορείᾳ προλαβοῦσιν. οὗ γενομένου πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλλυντο διὰ τὸ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων· ὁ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν

taken place, and at first desisted from their attempts; but presently the sight of the immense string of beasts of burden, and of the cavalry, slowly and painfully making the ascent, tempted them to attack the advancing line. Accordingly they fell upon it at many points at once; and the Carthaginians sustained severe losses, not so much at the hands of the enemy as from the dangerous nature of the ground, which proved especially fatal to the horses and beasts of burden. For as the ascent was not only narrow and rough, but flanked also with precipices, at every movement which tended to throw the line into disorder, large numbers of beasts of burden were hurled down the precipices with their loads on their backs. And what added more than anything else to this sort of confusion were the wounded horses; for, maddened by their wounds, they either turned round and ran into the advancing beasts of burden, or, rushing furiously forward, dashed aside everything that came in their way on the narrow path, and so threw the whole line into disorder. Hannibal saw what was taking place, and knowing that, even if they escaped this attack, they would never survive the loss of all their baggage, he took with him the men who had seized the strongholds during the night and went to the relief of the advancing line. Having the advantage of charging the enemy from the higher ground he inflicted a severe loss upon them, but suffered also as severe a one in his own army; for the commotion in the line now grew worse, and in both

πορείαν θόρυβος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ηὔξετο διὰ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων κραυγὴν καὶ συμπλοκήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος ἠνάγκασε φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, τότε δὴ τὸ μὲν ἔτι περιλειπόμενον πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἵππων μόλις καὶ ταλαιπώρως διήνυε τὰς δυσχωρίας, αὐτὸς δὲ συναθροίσας ὅσους ἠδύνατο πλείστους ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου προσέβαλε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὁρμὴν οἱ πολέμιοι, καταλαβὼν δὲ σχεδὸν ἔρημον διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκληθῆναι πρὸς τὰς ὠφελείας ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ συνέβη τῶν χρησίμων αὐτῷ πρός τε τὸ παρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον· παραυτίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐκομίσατο πλῆθος ἵππων καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτοις ἑαλωκότων ἀνδρῶν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἔσχε μὲν καὶ σίτου καὶ θρεμμάτων ἐπὶ δυεῖν καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις εὐπορίαν, τὸ δὲ συνέχον, φόβον ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς ἑξῆς πρὸς τὸ μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως ἐγχειρεῖν μηδένα τῶν παρακειμένων ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς.

(iii. 51.)

XLI. Τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ μίαν ἐπιμείνας ἡμέραν, αὖθις ὥρμα· ταῖς δ' ἑξῆς μέχρι μέν τινος ἀσφαλῶς διῆγε τὴν στρατιάν, ἤδη δὲ τεταρταῖος ὢν αὖθις εἰς κινδύνους παρεγένετο μεγάλους. οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὴν δίοδον οἰκοῦντες, συμφρονήσαντες ἐπὶ δόλῳ, συνήντων αὐτῷ θαλλοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ στεφάνους· τοῦτο γὰρ σχεδὸν πᾶσι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστὶ σύνθημα φιλίας, καθάπερ τὸ κηρύκειον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. εὐλαβῶς δὲ διακείμενος πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην πίστιν Ἀννίβας ἐξήτασε φιλοτίμως τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ

directions at once—thanks to the shouting and struggling of these combatants: and it was not until he had killed the greater number of the Allobroges, and forced the rest to fly to their own land, that the remainder of the beasts of burden and the horses got slowly, and with difficulty, over the dangerous ground. Hannibal himself rallied as many as he could after the fight, and assaulted the town from which the enemy had sallied; and finding it almost deserted, because its inhabitants had all been tempted out by the hope of booty, he got possession of it: from which he derived much advantage for the future as well as for the present. The immediate gain consisted of a large number of horses and beasts of burden, and men taken with them; and for future use he got a supply of corn and cattle sufficient for two or three days: but the most important result of all was the terror inspired in the neighbouring tribes, which prevented anyone of those who lived near the ascent from lightly venturing to meddle with him again.

XLI. Here he pitched a camp and remained a day, and started again. For the next three days he accomplished a certain amount of his journey without accident. But on the fourth he again found himself in serious danger. For the dwellers along his route, having concerted a plan of treachery, met him with branches and garlands, which among nearly all the natives are signs of friendship, as the herald's staff is among the Greeks. Hannibal was cautious about

τὴν ὅλην ἐπιβολήν. τῶν δὲ φασκόντων καλῶς εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἅλωσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχειρησάντων αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ διασαφούντων ὅτι πάρεισι διὰ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι μήτε ποιῆσαι μήτε παθεῖν δυσχερὲς μηδέν, ὑπισχνουμένων δὲ καὶ δώσειν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅμηρα, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ηὐλαβεῖτο καὶ διηπίστει τοῖς λεγομένοις, συλλογιζόμενος δὲ * ὡς δεξάμενος μὲν τὰ προτεινόμενα, τάχ' ἂν ἴσως εὐλαβεστέρους καὶ πρᾳοτέρους ποιήσαι τοὺς παραγεγονότας, μὴ προσδεξάμενος δὲ προδήλους ἕξει πολεμίους αὐτούς, συγκατένευσε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ συνυπεκρίθη τίθεσθαι φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὰ ὅμηρα παραδόντων καὶ θρέμμασι χορηγούντων ἀφθόνως καὶ καθόλου διδόντων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπαρατηρήτως, ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐπίστευσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ὥστε καὶ καθηγεμόσιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐξῆς δυσχωρίας. προπορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δύ' ἡμέραις, συναθροισθέντες οἱ προειρημένοι καὶ συνακολουθήσαντες ἐπιτίθενται, φάραγγά τινα δύσβατον καὶ κρημνώδη περαιουμένων αὐτῶν.

(iii. 52.)

XLII. Ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πάντας ἂν ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι συνέβη τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, εἰ μὴ δεδιότες ἀκμὴν ἐπὶ ποσὸν καὶ προορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἶχον ἐν τῇ πρωτοπορείᾳ, τοὺς δ' ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας.

accepting these assurances, and took great pains to discover what their real intention and purpose were. The Celts, however, professed to be fully aware of the capture of the town, and the destruction of those who had attempted to do him wrong; and explained that those events had induced them to come, because they wished neither to inflict nor receive any damage; and finally promised to give him hostages. For a long while Hannibal hesitated and refused to trust their speeches. But at length coming to the conclusion that, if he accepted what was offered, he would perhaps render the men before him less mischievous and implacable—but that, if he rejected them, he must expect undisguised hostility from them—he acceded to their request, and feigned to accept their offer of friendship. The Barbarians handed over the hostages, supplied him liberally with cattle, and in fact put themselves unreservedly into his hands; so that for a time Hannibal's suspicions were allayed, and he employed them as guides for the next difficulty that had to be passed. They guided the army for two days: and then these tribes collected their numbers, and keeping close up with the Carthaginians, attacked them just as they were passing through a certain difficult and precipitous gorge.

Hannibal's great danger.

XLII. Hannibal's army would now have certainly been utterly destroyed, had it not been for the fact that his fears were still on the alert, and that, having a prescience of what was to come, he had placed his

τούτων δ' ἐφεδρευόντων ἔλαττον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἔστεξαν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν βαρβάρων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου συγκυρήσαντος πολύ τι πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἵππων διεφθάρη· τῶν γὰρ τόπων ὑπερδεξίων ὄντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀντιπαράγοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ταῖς παρωρείαις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς πέτρας ἐπικυλίοντες τοὺς δ' ἐκ χειρὸς τοῖς λίθοις τύπτοντες, εἰς ὁλοσχερῆ διατροπὴν καὶ κίνδυνον ἦγον, οὕτως ὥστ' ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀννίβαν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισείας δυνάμεως νυκτερεῦσαι περί τι λευκόπετρον ὀχυρὸν χωρὶς τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἐφεδρεύοντα τούτοις, ἕως ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ταῦτα μόλις ἐξεμηρύσατο τῆς χαράδρας.

(iii. 53.)

XLIII. Πολλὴν οὖν ποιούμενος πρόνοιαν Ἀννίβας τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν ἀνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἅμα καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, προσανειληφυίας ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως, τῶν Ταυρίνων, οἳ τυγχάνουσι πρὸς τῇ παρωρείᾳ κατοικοῦντες, στασιαζόντων μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνσομβρας ἀπιστούντων δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν προυκαλεῖτο καὶ συμμαχίαν, οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δὲ περιστρατοπεδεύσας τὴν βαρυτάτην πόλιν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, κατασφάξας δὲ τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐνειργάσατο φόβον τοῖς σύνεγγυς κατοικοῦσιν τῶν βαρβάρων ὥστε πάντας ἐκ χειρὸς παραγίνεσθαι διδόντας αὑτοὺς εἰς τὴν πίστιν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν τὰ πεδία κατοικούντων Κελτῶν ἐσπούδαζε μὲν

baggage and cavalry in the van and his hoplites in the rear. These latter covered his line, and were able to stem the attack of the enemy, and accordingly the disaster was less than it would otherwise have been. As it was, however, a large number of beasts of burden and horses perished; for the advantage of the higher ground being with the enemy, the Celts moved along the slopes parallel with the army below, and by rolling down boulders, or throwing stones, reduced the troops to a state of the utmost confusion and danger; so that Hannibal with half his force was obliged to pass the night near a certain white rock, which afforded them protection, separated from his horses and baggage which he was covering; until after a whole night's struggle they slowly and with difficulty emerged from the gorge.

XLIII. Hannibal therefore bent his whole energies to the restoration of the spirits and bodies of his men, and of their horses also. When his army had thus sufficiently recovered (*from the effects of the passage over the Alps*), finding the Taurini, who lived immediately under the Alps, at war with the Insubres and inclined to be suspicious of the Carthaginians, Hannibal first invited them to terms of friendship and alliance; and, on their refusal, invested their chief city and carried it after a three days' siege. Having put to the sword all who had opposed him, he struck such terror into the minds of the neighbouring tribes that they all gave in their submission out of hand. The other Celts inhabiting these plains were also eager

κοινωνεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τῶν πραγμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιβολήν, παρηλλαχότων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων ἤδη τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν καὶ διακεκλεικότων ἡσυχίαν ἦγον· τινὲς δὲ καὶ συστρατεύειν ἠναγκάζοντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀννίβας ἔκρινε μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ προάγειν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν καὶ πράττειν τι πρὸς τὸ θαρρῆσαι τοὺς βουλομένους μετέχειν σφίσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων.

(iii. 60.)

XLIV. Ἀννίβας μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιοῦδέ τινος ἐνεχείρει τρόπου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραίνεσιν. συναγαγὼν γὰρ τὰ πλήθη παρήγαγεν νεανίσκους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὓς εἰλήφει κακοποιοῦντας τὴν πορείαν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις δυσχωρίαις. τούτους δὲ κακῶς διετίθετο παρασκευαζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον· καὶ γὰρ δεσμοὺς εἶχον βαρεῖς καὶ τῷ λιμῷ συνέσχηντο, καὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα διέφθαρτο. καθίσας οὖν τούτους εἰς τὸ μέσον προέθηκε πανοπλίας Γαλατικάς, οἵαις εἰώθασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, ὅταν μονομαχεῖν μέλλωσιν, κατακοσμεῖσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἵππους παρέστησε καὶ σάγους εἰσήνεγκε πολυτελεῖς. κἄπειτα τῶν νεανίσκων ἤρετο τίνες αὐτῶν βούλονται διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μὲν νικήσαντα τὰ προκείμενα λαμβάνειν ἆθλα, τὸν δ' ἡττηθέντα τῶν παρόντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν τελευτήσαντα τὸν βίον. πάντων δ' ἀναβοησάντων ἅμα καὶ δηλούντων ὅτι βούλονται μονομαχεῖν, κληρώσασθαι προσέταξε, καὶ δύο τοὺς λαχόντας καθοπλισαμένους ἐκέλευσε μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ἀκούσαντες

to join the Carthaginians, according to their original purpose; but the Roman legions had by this time advanced too far, and had intercepted the greater part of them: they were therefore unable to stir, and in some cases were even obliged to serve in the Roman ranks. This determined Hannibal not to delay his advance any longer, but to strike some blow which might encourage those natives who were desirous of sharing his enterprise.

Duel among Celts.

XLIV. The manner in which Hannibal tried to encourage his army was this. He mustered his men and caused some youthful prisoners, whom he had caught when they were attempting to hinder his march on the Alpine passes, to be brought forward. They had been subjected to very great severities with this very object, loaded with heavy chains, half-starved, and their bodies a mass of bruises from scourging. Hannibal caused these men to be placed in the middle of the army, and some suits of Gallic armour, such as are worn by their kings when they fight in single combat, to be exhibited; in addition to these he placed there some horses, and brought in some valuable military cloaks. He then asked these young prisoners, which of them were willing to do combat on condition of the conqueror taking these prizes, and the vanquished escaping all his present miseries by death. Upon their all answering with a loud shout that they were anxious to engage in these single combats, he bade them draw lots; and the pair, on whom the first lot fell, to put on the armour and

οἱ νεανίσκοι ταῦτα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξαίροντες, εὔχοντο τοῖς θεοῖς, σπεύδων ἕκαστος αὐτὸς γενέσθαι τῶν λαχόντων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδηλώθη τὰ κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον, ἦσαν οἱ μὲν εἰληχότες περιχαρεῖς οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοὐναντίον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης οὐχ ἧττον ἐμακάριζον οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὸν τεθνεῶτα τοῦ νενικηκότος ὡς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν ἐκείνου μὲν ἀπολελυμένου, σφᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς ἀκμὴν ὑπομένοντας. ἦν δὲ παραπλησία καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡ διάληψις· ἐκ παραθέσεως γὰρ θεωρουμένης τῆς τῶν ἀγομένων καὶ ζώντων ταλαιπωρίας τούτους μὲν ἠλέουν, τὸν δὲ τεθνεῶτα πάντες ἐμακάριζον.

(iii. 62.)

XLV. Οἱ δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Κελτοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις θεωροῦντες ἐπικυδεστέρας τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίδας, συνταξάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν, μένοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι σκηναῖς. δειπνοποιησαμένων δὲ καὶ κατακοιμισθέντων τῶν ἐν τῷ χάρακι, παρελθεῖν ἐάσαντες τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς νυκτός, καθωπλισμένοι περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς σύνεγγυς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραστρατοπεδεύουσι. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ κατετραυμάτισαν· τέλος δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμόντες τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπεχώρουν πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ὄντες πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς δὲ μικρῷ λείποντες διακοσίων. Ἀννίβας δὲ φιλοφρόνως ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν παρουσίαν, τούτους μὲν εὐθέως παρακαλέσας καὶ δωρεὰς ἑκάστοις τὰς ἁρμοζούσας ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἐξέπεμψεν

fight. As soon as the young men heard these orders, they lifted up their hands, and each prayed the gods that he might be one of those to draw the lot. And when the lots were drawn, those on whom they fell were overjoyed, and the others in despair. When the fight was finished, too, the surviving captives congratulated the one who had fallen no less than the victor, as having been freed from many terrible sufferings, while they themselves still remained to endure them. And in this sentiment the Carthaginian soldiers were much disposed to join, all pitying the survivors and congratulating the fallen champion.

Celts desert Romans for Hannibal.

XLV. But the Celtic contingent of the Roman army, seeing that Hannibal's prospects looked the brighter of the two, concerted their plans for a fixed time, and waited in their several tents for the moment for carrying them out. When the men within the rampart of the camp had taken their supper and were gone to bed, the Celts let more than half the night pass, and just about the time of the morning watch armed themselves and fell upon the Romans who were quartered nearest to them; killed a considerable number, and wounded not a few; and, finally, cutting off the heads of the slain, departed with them to join the Carthaginians, to the number of two thousand infantry and nearly two hundred cavalry. They were received with great satisfaction by Hannibal; who, after addressing them encouragingly, and promising them all suitable rewards, sent them to

εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις, δηλώσοντας μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς πολίταις, παρακαλέσοντας δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ συμμαχίαν· ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι πάντες κατ' ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ κοινωνήσουσι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπιγνόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων πολιτῶν παρασπόνδημα κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν Βοίων παραγεγονότων καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐγχειριζόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διάδοσιν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξαπεσταλμένους, ὧν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐκυρίευσαν τοῦ πολέμου παρασπονδήσαντες καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, ἀποδεξάμενος Ἀννίβας τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἔθετο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας πίστεις, τούς γε μὴν ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε, παραγγείλας τηρεῖν, ἵνα παρὰ τούτων κομίσωνται τοὺς αὐτῶν ὁμήρους κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν.

(iii. 67.)

XLVI. Πόπλιος δὲ σχετλιάζων ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι παρασπονδήματι, καὶ συλλογισάμενος ὅτι πάλαι τῶν Κελτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένων, τούτων ἐπιγεγονότων πάντας τοὺς πέριξ Γαλάτας συμβήσεται πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπονεύειν, ἔγνω δεῖν εὐλαβηθῆναι τὸ μέλλον. . . . Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τὸ δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν πλῆθος τὸ τὰ πεδία κατοικοῦν, συνεξεστηκὸς ταῖς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίσι, δαψιλῶς μὲν ἐχορήγει τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, ἕτοιμον δ' ἦν παντὸς κοινωνεῖν ἔργου καὶ κινδύνου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

(iii. 67–68.)

XLVII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνθεωρήσας τινὰς τῶν Κελτῶν,

their several cities, to declare to their compatriots what they had done, and to urge them to make an alliance with him; for he knew that they would now all feel compelled to take part with him, when they learnt the treachery of which their fellow-countrymen had been guilty towards the Romans. Just at the same time the Boii came in, and handed over to him the three Agrarian Commissioners, sent from Rome to divide the lands; whom, as I have already related, they had seized by a sudden act of treachery at the beginning of the war. Hannibal gratefully acknowledged their good intentions, and made a formal alliance with those who came: but he handed them back their prisoners, bidding them to keep them safe, in order to get back their own hostages from Rome, as they intended at first.

XLVI. Publius Scipio regarded this treachery as of most serious importance; and feeling sure that the Celts in the neighbourhood had long been ill-disposed, and would, after this event, all incline to the Carthaginians, he made up his mind that some precaution for the future was necessary. . . . Hannibal pitched his camp about forty stades from him. While the numerous Celts inhabiting the plains (*about the Trebia*), excited by the good prospects of the Carthaginians, supplied his army with provisions in great abundance, and were eager to take their share with Hannibal in every military operation or battle. . . .

XLVII. But afterwards, finding that certain

οἳ κατῴκουν μεταξὺ τοῦ Πάδου καὶ τοῦ Τρεβία ποταμοῦ, πεποιημένους μὲν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διαπεμπομένους δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πεπεισμένους τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὴν παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν, ἐξαποστέλλει πεζοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς δὲ Κελτοὺς καὶ Νομάδας εἰς χιλίους, προστάξας ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν. τῶν δὲ πραξάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ πολλὴν περιβαλομένων λείαν, εὐθέως οἱ Κελτοὶ παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν. Τεβέριος δὲ καὶ πάλαι ζητῶν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ πράττειν τι, τότε λαβὼν πρόφασιν ἐξαπέστειλε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, πεζοὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἀκοντιστὰς εἰς χιλίους. σπουδῇ δὲ τούτων προσμιξάντων πέραν τοῦ Τρεβία καὶ διαμαχομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς λείας, ἐτράπησαν οἱ Κελτοὶ σὺν τοῖς Νομάσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐποιοῦντο χάρακα.

(iii. 69.)

XLVIII. Ἐτίθει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν ποταμόν, ἐπὶ τῶν εὐωνύμων, τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀντίους τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσι, συνεχεῖς δὲ τούτοις πεζοὺς τοὺς ἡμίσεις τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαρέσι καθοπλισμοῖς Λιβύων, ἐξῆς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτούς. παρὰ δὲ τούτοις τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος ἔθηκε τῶν Λιβύων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπέταξε τοὺς Νομαδικοὺς ἱππεῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντ' ἐπὶ μίαν εὐθεῖαν ἐξέτεινε, μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ μέσα τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν τάγματα προῆγε, καὶ τἆλλα τούτοις ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον παρίστανε ζυγοῦντα, μηνοειδὲς ποιῶν τὸ κύρτωμα καὶ λεπτύνων τὸ τούτων αὐτῶν σχῆμα, βουλόμενος ἐφεδρείας

Celts who lived in the fork of the Po and Trebia, while pretending to have come to terms with him, were sending messages to the Romans at the same time, believing that thus they would secure themselves from being injured by either side, he sent two thousand infantry with some Celtic and Numidian cavalry with orders to devastate their territory. This order being executed, and a great spoil captured, the Celts appeared at the Roman camp beseeching their aid. Tiberius had all along been looking out for an opportunity of striking a blow; and at once seized on this pretext for sending out a party, consisting of the greater part of his cavalry, and a thousand sharpshooters of his infantry along with them; who having speedily come up with the enemy on the other side of the Trebia, and engaged with them in a sharp struggle for the possession of the booty, forced the Celts and the Numidians to beat a retreat to their own camp.

Dispositions of Hannibal's forces at the battle of Cannae (B.C. 216).

XLVIII. On his left wing, close to the river, Hannibal stationed the Iberian and Celtic horse opposite the Roman cavalry; and next to them half the Libyan heavy-armed foot; and next to them the Iberian and Celtic foot; next, the other half of the Libyans, and, on the right wing, the Numidian horse. Having now got them all into line he advanced with the central companies of the Iberians and Celts; and so arranged the other companies next these in regular gradations, that the whole line became crescent-shaped, diminishing in depth towards its extremities:

μὲν τάξιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Λίβυας αὐτῶν ἔχειν, προκινδυνεῦσαι δὲ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς. ἦν δ' ὁ καθοπλισμὸς τῶν μὲν Λιβύων Ῥωμαϊκός, οὓς πάντας Ἀννίβας τοῖς ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης μάχης σκύλοις ἐκλέξας κατακεκοσμήκει· τῶν δ' Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν ὁ μὲν θυρεὸς ἦν παραπλήσιος, τὰ δὲ ξίφη τὴν ἐναντίαν εἶχε διάθεσιν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ κέντημα τῆς καταφορᾶς ἴσχυε πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν, ἡ δὲ Γαλατικὴ μάχαιρα μίαν εἶχε χρείαν τὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς, καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἀποστάσεως. ἐναλλὰξ δὲ ταῖς σπείραις αὐτῶν παρατεταγμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Κελτῶν γυμνῶν τῶν δ' Ἰβήρων λινοῖς περιπορφύροις χιτωνίσκοις κεκοσμημένων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ξενίζουσαν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἱππικῶν πλῆθος τὸ σύμπαν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς μυρίους, τὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν οὐ πολὺ πλείους τετρακισμυρίων σὺν τοῖς Κελτοῖς.

(iii. 113, 114.)

XLIX. Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπιμετρούσης καὶ συνεπαγωνιζομένης τοῖς γεγονόσι τῆς τύχης, συνέβη μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, τοῦ φόβου κατέχοντος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν στρατηγὸν ἀποσταλέντ' εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐμπεσόντα παραδόξως ἄρδην ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν διαφθαρῆναι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

(iii. 118.)

L. Ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν πόλεμον κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἀναφέροντες ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων

his object being to have his Libyans as a reserve in the battle, and to commence the action with his Iberians and Celts.

Celts in battle.

The armour of the Libyans was Roman, for Hannibal had armed them with a selection of the spoils taken in previous battles. The shield of the Iberians and Celts was about the same size, but their swords were quite different. For that of the Romans can thrust with as deadly effect as it can cut, while the Gallic sword can only cut, and that requires some room. And the companies coming alternately—the naked Celts, and the Iberians with their short linen tunics bordered with purple stripes—the whole appearance of the line was strange and terrifying. The whole strength of the Carthaginian cavalry was ten thousand, but that of their foot was not more than forty thousand, including the Celts.

Licius Postimius annihilated in Gaul (B.C. 216).

XLIX. For, as though Fortune were in league with the disasters that had already befallen them to fill up the measure of their ruin, it happened that only a few days after (*their ruin at Cannae*), while the city was still in this panic, the praetor who had been sent into Gaul fell unexpectedly into an ambush and perished, and his army was utterly annihilated by the Celts.

The Galatae in Byzantium (B.C. 279–220).

L. Still, habit made (the Byzantines) able to endure war with the Thracians. They maintained their original connexions with the other Greeks; but when to their other misfortunes was added the attack of

πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσεπιγενομένων δὲ Γαλατῶν αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ Κομοντόριον εἰς πᾶν ἦλθον περιστάσεως.

(iv. 45.)

Οὗτοι δ' ἐκίνησαν μὲν ἅμα τοῖς περὶ Βρέννον ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας, διαφυγόντες δὲ τὸν περὶ Δελφοὺς κίνδυνον καὶ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ κατέμειναν διὰ τὸ φιλοχωρῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόποις. οἳ καὶ κρατήσαντες τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, καὶ κατασκευασάμενοι βασίλειον τὴν Τύλιν, εἰς ὁλοσχερῆ κίνδυνον ἦγον τοὺς Βυζαντίους. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐφόδοις αὐτῶν, ταῖς κατὰ Κομοντόριον τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα, δῶρα διετέλουν οἱ Βυζάντιοι διδόντες ἀνὰ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μυρίους χρυσοῦς, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καταφθείρειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. τέλος δ' ἠναγκάσθησαν ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα συγχωρῆσαι φόρον τελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕως εἰς Καύαρον, ἐφ' οὗ κατελύθη μὲν ἡ βασιλεία, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξεφθάρη πᾶν ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπικρατηθέν.

(iv. 46.)

LI. Καυάρου δὲ τοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλέως παραγενομένου πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ σπουδάζοντος διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διέχοντος τὰς χεῖρας φιλοτίμως, συνεχώρησαν τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις ὅ τε Προυσίας οἵ τε Βυζάντιοι.

(iv. 52.)

LII. Εἰς ἃ βλέπων ὁ Φίλιππος τούς τε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μισθοφόρους καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν Γαλατικῶν ἱππέων τινάς, σὺν δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας ἐπιλέκτων εἰς δισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἀθροίσας ἐν τῇ τῶν Δυμαίων πόλει κατέλειπεν.

(v. 3.)

the Galatae under Comontorius, they were reduced to a sad state of distress indeed.

The Galatae had left their country with Brennus, and having survived the battle at Delphi and made their way to the Hellespont, instead of crossing to Asia, were captivated by the beauty of the district round Byzantium, and settled there. Then having conquered the Thracians and erected Tyle into a capital, they placed the Byzantines in extreme danger. In their earlier attacks, made under the command of Comontorius, their first king, the Byzantines always bought them off by presents amounting to three, or five, or sometimes even ten thousand gold pieces, on condition of their not devastating their territory: and at last were compelled to agree to pay them a yearly tribute of eighty talents, until the time of Cavarus, in whose reign their kingdom came to an end; and their whole tribe, being now in their turn conquered by the Thracians, were entirely annihilated.

Cavarus King of Thrace (B.C. 220).

LI. So when the Gallic king, Cavarus, came to Byzantium, and showed himself eager to put an end to the war, and earnestly offered his friendly intervention, both Prusias and the Byzantines consented to his proposals.

Philip V of Macedonia at Thermas (B.C. 218).

LII. When Philip saw what was going on, he stationed a force at Dyme, consisting of the Achaean mercenaries, some of the Cretans serving under him, and some of the Gallic horse, together with two thousand picked Achaean infantry.

LIII. Τοὺς δὲ θυρεαφόρους καὶ Γαλάτας καὶ καθόλου τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον ἔθηκε τῶν ἱππέων.

(v. 53.)

LIV. Τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πλῆθος ἦν μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους φαλαγγίτας, ὑπετάττετο δὲ Σωσιβίῳ. συνήχθη δὲ καὶ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν πλῆθος, ἐκ μὲν τῶν κατοίκων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ προσφάτως ἐπισυναχθέντες ἦσαν εἰς δισχιλίους.

(v. 65.)

LV. Οὗ γενομένης ἐκλείψεως σελήνης, πάλαι δυσχερῶς φέροντες οἱ Γαλάται τὰς ἐν ταῖς πορείαις κακοπαθείας ἅτε ποιούμενοι τὴν στρατείαν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, ἑπομένων αὐτοῖς τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἁμάξαις, τότε σημειωσάμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν ἔτι προελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος χρείαν μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ὁλοσχερῆ κομιζόμενος, θεωρῶν δ' ἀποσπωμένους ἐν ταῖς πορείαις καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς στρατοπεδεύοντας καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀπειθοῦντας καὶ πεφρονηματισμένους, εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐνέπιπτεν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἠγωνία μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαιὸν ἀπονεύσαντες συνεπίθωνται τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν, ἅμα δ' ὑφεωρᾶτο τὴν ἐξακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῷ φήμην, ἐὰν περιστήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας διαφθείρῃ πάντας τοὺς δοκοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως πεποιῆσθαι τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν

LIII. *Molon* stationed the scutati and Galatae, and in short all his heavy armed men, in the space between the two bodies of cavalry.

The rebel Molon's dispositions at the Tigris (B.C. 220).

LIV. The Egyptians themselves supplied twenty thousand soldiers to the phalanx, and were under the command of Sosibius. A body of Thracians and Galatae was also enrolled, four thousand being taken from settlers in the country and their descendants, while two thousand had been recently enlisted and brought over.

Army of Ptolemy, N. Philopator, King of Egypt, in the war for Coele-Syria (B.C. 219).

LV. While *Attalus* was here (*at the river Megistus, in Mysia*) an eclipse of the moon occurred, and the Galatae, who had all along been much discontented at the hardships of the march—which was rendered the more painful for them by the fact of their being accompanied by their wives and children, who followed the host in wagons—now regarded the eclipse as an evil augury and refused to go on. But King Attalus, who got no effective service from them, and saw that they straggled during the march and encamped by themselves, and wholly declined to obey orders and despised all authority, was in great doubt as to what to do. He was anxious lest they should desert to Achaeus, and join in the attack on himself, and was uneasy at the same time about the scandal to which he would give rise if he caused his soldiers to surround and kill all these men, who were believed to have crossed into Asia in reliance on his honour. He therefore seized the occasion of their refusal to proceed, to promise them that he would see that they

The Galatae in Ptolemy's army become insubordinate (B.C. 218).

διάβασιν. διὸ τῆς προειρημένης ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος ἐπηγγείλατο κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἀποκαταστήσειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τόπον δώσειν εὐφυῆ πρὸς κατοικίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμπράξειν εἰς ὁπόσα ἂν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶσι τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ καλῶς ἐχόντων.

Ἄτταλος μὲν οὖν ἀποκαταστήσας τοὺς Αἰγοσάγας εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον.

(v. 78.)

LVI. Ἐπράχθη δέ τι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ Προυσίᾳ μνήμης ἄξιον. τῶν γὰρ Γαλατῶν, οὓς διεβίβασεν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ἀχαιὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ δόξαν, τούτων χωρισθέντων τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως διὰ τὰς ἄρτι ῥηθείσας ὑποψίας καὶ πορθούντων μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ βίας τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ πολιορκεῖν τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς ἐπιβαλομένων, ἐγένετο μέν τις οὐκ ἀγεννὴς περὶ ταῦτα πρᾶξις καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν Τρῳάδα κατοικούντων Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· Θεμίστην γὰρ ἐξαποστείλαντες μετ' ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἔλυσαν μὲν τὴν Ἰλιέων πολιορκίαν, ἐξέβαλον δ' ἐκ πάσης τῆς Τρῳάδος τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐμποδίζοντες ταῖς χορηγίαις καὶ διαλυμαινόμενοι τὰς ἐπιβολὰς αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται κατασχόντες τὴν Ἀρίσβαν καλουμένην ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώρᾳ, λοιπὸν ἐπεβούλευον καὶ προσεπολέμουν ταῖς περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἐκτισμέναις πόλεσιν. ἐφ' οὓς στρατεύσας μετὰ δυνάμεως Προυσίας καὶ παραταξάμενος τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν χερῶν νόμῳ διέφθειρε, τὰ δὲ τέκνα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ κατέσφαξε, τὴν δ' ἀποσκευὴν ἐφῆκε διαρπάσαι τοῖς ἠγωνισμένοις. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλου μὲν ἀπέλυσε φόβου

were taken back to the place where they had crossed into Asia; would assign them suitable lands for a settlement, and would afterwards do them any service they asked for, if it was within his power and consistent with justice. Accordingly Attalus led the Aegosagae back to the Hellespont.

Defeat of Galatae in Asia.

LVI. During this period Prusias did a thing that deserves to be recorded. The Galatae, whom King Attalus had brought over from Europe to assist him against Achaeus on account of their reputation for courage, had separated from that monarch on account of the jealous suspicions of which I have before spoken, and were plundering the cities on the Hellespont with gross licentiousness and violence, and finally went so far as actually to besiege Ilium. In these circumstances the inhabitants of Alexandria in the Troad acted with commendable spirit. They sent Themistes with four thousand men and forced the Galatae to raise the siege of Ilium, and drove them entirely out of the Troad, by cutting off their supplies and frustrating all their designs. Thereupon the Galatae seized Arisba, in the territory of Abydos, and thenceforth devoted themselves to forming designs and committing acts of hostility against the cities built in that district. Against them Prusias led out an army; and in a pitched battle put the men to the sword on the field, and slew nearly all their women and children in the camp, leaving the baggage to be plundered by the soldiers. This achievement of Prusias delivered the cities on the Hellespont from great fear and danger,

καὶ κινδύνου τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πόλεις, καλὸν δὲ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης βαρβάρους τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διάβασιν.

(v. 111.)

LVII. Ὅτι Καύαρος[1] ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ Γαλατῶν βασιλικὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ φύσει καὶ μεγαλόφρων, πολλὴν μὲν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκεύαζε τοῖς προσπλέουσι τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς τὸν Πόντον, μεγάλας δὲ παρείχετο χρείας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς πολέμοις.

Πολύβιος ἐν ὀγδόῃ ἱστοριῶν, Καύαρός, φησιν, ὁ Γαλάτης, ὃν τἆλλα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὑπὸ Σωστράτου τοῦ κόλακος διεστρέφετο, ὃς ἦν Χαλκηδόνιος γένος.

(viii. 24.)

LVIII. Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ μόνοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀντωφθάλμησαν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδίκως ἀκληρούντων ἀσφαλείας, μόνοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν Βρέννου καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτῳ βαρβάρων ἔφοδον ἀντέστησαν.

(ix. 30.)

LIX. Ὅτι γὰρ αἰεί ποτ' ἂν ἐν μεγάλοις ἦν κινδύνοις τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ μὴ Μακεδόνας εἴχομεν πρόφραγμα καὶ τὰς τῶν παρὰ τούτοις βασιλέων φιλοτιμίας, τίς οὐ γινώσκει; μέγιστον δὲ τούτου σημεῖον· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ Γαλάτας καταφρονῆσαι Μακεδόνων νικήσαντας Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Κεραυνὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, εὐθέως καταγνόντες τῶν ἄλλων ἦκον οἱ περὶ Βρέννον εἰς μέσην τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ δυνάμεως.

(ix. 35.)

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 250, excerpt li.

and was a signal warning for future generations against barbarians from Europe being over-ready to cross into Asia.

LVII. Cavarus, King of the Galatae in Thrace,[1] was of a truly royal and high-minded disposition, and gave the merchants sailing into the Pontus great protection, and rendered the Byzantines important services in their wars with the Thracians and Bithynians. . . . Circa B.C. 220.

This king, so excellent in other respects, was corrupted by a flatterer named Sostratus, who was a Chalcedonian by birth. . . .

LVIII. (*From the speech delivered by Chlaeneas at Sparta, B.C. 211, against the Macedonians.*) 'For the Aetolians were the only people in Greece who withstood Antipater in behalf of those unjustly defrauded of safety to their lives: they alone faced the invasion of Brennus and his Barbarian army.' Galatae opposed by the Aetolians. (B.C. 279).

LIX. (*Lyciscus defending the Macedonians at Sparta in B.C. 211 says*): 'For that Greece would have been continually involved in great dangers, if we had not had the Macedonians and the ambition of their kings as a barrier, who is ignorant? And there is a very striking proof of this. For no sooner had the Galatae conceived a contempt for the Macedonians by their victory over Ptolemy Ceraunus, than, thinking the rest of no account, Brennus promptly marched into the middle of Greece.' Galatae defeat the Macedonians (B.C. 281).

LX. Οὐ γὰρ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἡττῆσθαι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων οὐδέποτε, τῇ δὲ προδοσίᾳ τῇ Κελτιβήρων καὶ τῇ προπετείᾳ, διακλεισθέντων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τῶν εἰρημένων.

(x. 6.)

LXI. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν πολυχειρίαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χορηγίαν μεγάλα συμβαίνει τὰ συβόσια κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν παραλίαν, παρά τε τοῖς Τυρρηνικοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις.

(xii. 4.)

LXII. Οὐ μικρὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλπίζειν παρεσκεύασαν οἱ Κελτίβηρες· ἀντὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τετρακισχιλίων μυρίους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγγελλον εἶναι, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀνυποστάτους ὑπάρχειν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς καθοπλισμοῖς. . . .

Ὧν διασαφηθέντων εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον εὐθέως ὁ Πόπλιος ἐγίνετο περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, . . . ἅμα δὲ τῷ γενέσθαι τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον εὐθέως οἱ Νομάδες ἐνέκλιναν τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς ἱππεῖς, οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην, ἅτε πλεονάκις ἤδη προηττημένοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς. οἱ δὲ Κελτίβηρες ἐμάχοντο γενναίως, συστάντες τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. οὔτε γὰρ φεύγοντες ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχον διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων οὔτε ζωγρίᾳ κρατηθέντες διὰ τὴν ἀθεσίαν τὴν εἰς τὸν Πόπλιον· οὐδὲν γὰρ πολέμιον πεπονθότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράξεις ἀδίκως ἐφαίνοντο καὶ παρασπόνδως ἥκειν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων συμμαχήσοντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ κλῖναι τοὺς

LX. 'For,' said he, 'Romans have never been beaten by Carthaginians in a trial of valour. It was the result of treachery on the part of the Celtiberians, and of rashness, the two commanders getting cut off from each other by their reliance on these men.' Scipio to his troops in Spain (B.C. 210).

LXI. For owing to the populousness and wealth of the country, the droves of swine in Italy are exceedingly large, especially along the sea-coast of the Tuscans and Galatae.

LXII. The approaches of these Celtiberes did a great deal also to encourage the hopes of the Carthaginians; for, instead of four thousand, it was reported at Carthage that they were ten thousand, and that their bravery and the excellency of their arms made them irresistible in the field. . . . When the news of these proceedings reached the Roman camp Scipio immediately determined to attack. . . . At the very first charge the Numidians reeled before the Italian cavalry, and the Carthaginians wavered before the horse commanded by Massanissa; for their many previous defeats had completely demoralised them. But the Celtiberes fought gallantly, for they had no hope of saving themselves by flight, being entirely unacquainted with the country; nor any expectation of being spared if they were taken prisoners on account of their perfidy to Scipio: for they were regarded as having acted in defiance of justice and of their treaty in coming to aid the Carthaginians against the Romans, though they had never suffered any act of B.C. 203.

Battle on the Great Plains (June 24, B.C. 203).

ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων ταχέως κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πριγκίπων καὶ τριαρίων αὐτοῦ κατεκόπησαν πάντες πλὴν τελέως ὀλίγων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κελτίβηρες τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπώλοντο, μεγάλην παρασχόμενοι χρείαν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις οὐ μόνον παρ' ὅλην τὴν μάχην ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν φυγήν. εἰ μή γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐκ ποδὸς ἠκολούθησαν τοῖς φεύγουσιν, παντελῶς ἂν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον τῶν ὑπεναντίων.

(xiv. 7, 8.)

LXIII. Οὗτοι δὲ παρεγενήθησαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸ τοῦ τὴν σύγκλητον διαλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καθεσταμένων ὑπάτων, πότερον ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἢ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν δεήσει πέμπειν ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. πεπεισμένων δὲ τῶν τοῦ Τίτου φίλων μένειν τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν φόβον, εἰσελθοντες εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον πάντες κατηγόρουν ἀποτόμως τοῦ Φιλίππου. . . . ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξαπέστειλε, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπα.

(xviii. 11, 12.)

LXIV. Νικήσας γὰρ μάχῃ Γαλάτας, ὃ βαρύτατον καὶ μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος ἦν τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τότε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἔδειξε βασιλέα.

(xviii. 41.)

LXV. Ἐξελθόντες μὲν Γάλλοι δύο μετὰ τύπων καὶ προστηθιδίων ἐδέοντο μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως.

(xxi. 6.)

hostility at Scipio's hands during the campaigns in Iberia. When, however, the two wings gave way these men were surrounded by the *principes* and *triarii*, and cut to pieces on the field almost to a man. Thus perished the Celtiberes, who yet did very effective service to the Carthaginians, not only during the whole battle, but during the retreat also; for, if it had not been for the hindrance caused by them, the Romans would have pressed the fugitives closely, and very few of the enemy would have escaped.

War between Rome and Philip V of Macedonia (B.C. 197).

LXIII. Now these envoys arrived at Rome before the senate had settled the provinces of the consuls appointed for this year, and whether it would be necessary to send both to Gaul, or one of them against Philip. But the friends of Flaminius having assured themselves that both consuls would remain in Italy owing to a threat of an attack from the Celts, all the ambassadors appeared and bluntly stated their grievances against Philip. . . . The senate, as I have said, assigned Gaul to both the consuls as their province.

Attalus I, King of Pergamum (B.C. 241-197).

LXIV. For it was after conquering the Galatae, the most formidable and warlike nation at that time in Asia, that (Attalus) assumed this rank and first put himself forward as king.

Roman fleet at Sestos (B.C. 190).

LXV. Two Galli, with sacred images and figures on their breasts, advanced from the town, and besought them not to adopt any extreme measures against the city . . .

LXVI. Ὅτι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ περὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ καθόλου περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ πρεσβεῖαι διεπράττοντο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος ἐπολεμεῖτο, κατὰ τοῦτον συνέβη τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας πόλεμον ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν ἐνιστάμεθα τὴν διήγησιν. . . .

(xxi. 33.)

LXVII. Ὅτι Γναῖος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ἐξαπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ἐποσόγνατον τὸν Γαλάτην, ὅπως πρεσβεύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεῖς. καὶ ὁ Ἐποσόγνατος ἔπεμψε πρὸς Γναῖον πρέσβεις, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν Γναῖον τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν μὴ προεξαναστῆναι μηδ' ἐπιβαλεῖν χεῖρας τοῖς Τολιστοβογίοις Γαλάταις, καὶ διότι πρεσβεύσει πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν Ἐποσόγνατος, καὶ ποιήσεται λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλίας, καὶ πεπεῖσθαι πρὸς πᾶν αὐτοὺς παραστήσεσθαι τὸ καλῶς ἔχον. . . .

Γναῖος ὁ ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων διερχόμενος ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμόν, τελέως κοῖλον ὄντα καὶ δύσβατον. καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδευσαμένου παραγίνονται Γάλλοι παρὰ Ἄττιδος καὶ Βαττάκου τῶν ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ἱερέων τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔχοντες προστηθίδια καὶ τύπους, φάσκοντες προσαγγέλλειν τὴν θεὸν νίκην καὶ κράτος. οὓς ὁ Γναῖος φιλανθρώπως ὑπεδέξατο. . . .

Ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Γναίου πρὸς τὸ πολισμάτιον τὸ καλούμενον Γορδίειον, ἦκον παρ' Ἐποσογνάτου πρέσβεις ἀποδηλοῦντες ὅτι πορευθεὶς διαλεχθείη τοῖς τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἁπλῶς εἰς οὐδὲν συγκαταβαίνοιεν φιλάνθρωπον, ἀλλ'

LXVI. While the negotiations for peace with Antiochus, and for the settlement of Asia in general were going on at Rome, and the Aetolian war was being fought in Greece, it happened that another war in Asia, that, namely, against the Galatae, was brought to a conclusion, the account of which I am now about to give . . . *multa absunt.* B.C. 189. Romans in Galatia.

LXVII. Cnaeus sent envoys to Eposognatus the Galatian, desiring him to send embassies to the kings of the Galatae. Eposognatus in his turn sent envoys to Cnaeus begging him not to move his quarters or attack the Tolistobogian Galatae; and assuring him that he would send embassies to the kings and propose peace to them, and felt quite certain that he would be able to bring them to a proper view of affairs in all respects . . . *multa desunt.* . . . In the course of his march through the country Cnaeus made a bridge over the river Sangorius, which was extremely deep and difficult to cross. And having encamped on the bank of the river, he was visited by some Galli sent by Attis and Battocus, the priests of the mother of the gods at Pesinus, wearing figures and images on their breasts, and announcing that the goddess promised him victory and power. To these Cnaeus gave a courteous reception. . . . *multa desunt.*

When Cnaeus was at the small town of Gordieium, ambassadors came from Eposognatus, announcing that he had been round and had talked to the kings of the Galatae, but that they would not consent to make any overtures of friendship whatever; on the

ἠθροικότες ὁμοῦ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ἅπασαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Ὄλυμπον ἕτοιμοι πρὸς μάχην εἰσίν.

LXVIII. Χιομάραν δὲ συνέβη τὴν Ὀρτιάγοντος αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Γναῖος ἐνίκησαν μάχῃ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Γαλάτας. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ταξίαρχος ἐχρήσατο τῇ τύχῃ στρατιωτικῶς καὶ κατῄσχυνεν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀργύριον ἀμαθὴς καὶ ἀκρατὴς ἄνθρωπος, ἡττήθη δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, καὶ χρυσίου συχνοῦ διομολογηθέντος ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς ἦγεν αὐτὴν ἀπολυτρώσων, ποταμοῦ τινος ἐν μέσῳ διείργοντος. ὡς δὲ διαβάντες οἱ Γαλάται τὸ χρυσίον ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ καὶ παρελάμβανον τὴν Χιομάραν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ νεύματος προσέταξεν ἑνὶ παῖσαι τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενον αὐτὴν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενον, ἐκείνου δὲ πεισθέντος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαντος ἀραμένη καὶ περιστείλασα τοῖς κόλποις ἀπήλαυνεν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ προύβαλεν, ἐκείνου θαυμάσαντος καὶ εἰπόντος "ὦ γύναι, καλὸν ἡ πίστις" "ναὶ" εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ κάλλιον ἕνα μόνον ζῆν ἐμοὶ συγγεγενημένον."

contrary, they had collected their children and women on Mount Olympus, and were prepared to give battle. . . . *multa desunt.*

LXVIII. It chanced that among the prisoners made when the Romans won the victory at Olympus over the Galatae of Asia, was Chiomara, wife of Ortiago. The centurion who had charge of her availed himself of his chance in soldierly fashion and violated her.

He was a slave indeed both to money and lust: but eventually his love of money got the upper hand; and, on a large sum of gold being agreed to be paid for the woman, he led her off to put her to ransom. There was a river between the two camps, and when the Galatae had crossed it, paid the man the money, and received the woman, she ordered one of them by a nod to strike the Roman as he was in the act of taking a polite and affectionate farewell of her. The man obeyed, and cut off the centurion's head, which she picked up and drove off with, wrapped in the folds of her dress. On reaching her husband she threw the head at his feet; and when he expressed astonishment and said: 'Wife, to keep faith is a good thing,' she replied: 'Yes, but it is a better thing that there should be only one man alive who has lain with me.' [1] . . . *Desunt cætera.*

[1] Plutarch states that 'Polybius says he conversed with the woman at Sardis, and was much struck with her dignified demeanour and intelligence' (Plutarch, *De mulierum virtutibus*, c. 22). Compare also Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. pp. 81–82; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, p. 20; *Revue Celtique*, xvi. p. 419, xvii. p. 6 and pp. 203–214, xiii. pp. 32–124; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccles. Documents*, vol. ii. p. 329. There are many references in Celtic literature to this code of morality.

LXIX. Ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν νίκην στρατοπεδευόντων περὶ τὴν Ἄγκυραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ Γναίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προάγειν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν μέλλοντος, παραγίνονται πρέσβεις παρὰ τῶν Τεκτοσάγων, ἀξιοῦντες τὸν Γναῖον τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις ἐᾶσαι κατὰ χώραν, αὐτὸν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν προελθεῖν εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τῶν στρατοπέδων· ἥξειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν βασιλεῖς κοινολογησομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων. τοῦ δὲ Γναίου συγκαταθεμένου καὶ παραγενηθέντος κατὰ τὸ συνταχθὲν μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, τότε μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον οἱ βασιλεῖς. ἀνακεχωρηκότος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν παρεμβολήν, αὖθις ἦκον οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν βασιλέων σκήψεις τινὰς λέγοντες, ἀξιοῦντες δὲ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πρώτους ἄνδρας ἐκπέμψουσι κοινολογησομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος κατανεύσας ἥξειν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας στρατοπεδείας, Ἄτταλον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰς ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων. οἱ δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν πρέσβεις ἦλθον μὲν κατὰ τὸ συνταχθὲν καὶ λόγους ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, τέλος δ' ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἢ κυρῶσαί τι τῶν δοξάντων οὐκ ἔφασαν εἶναι δυνατόν. τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἥξειν διωρίζοντο, συνθησομένους καὶ πέρας ἐπιθήσοντας, εἰ καὶ Γναῖος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον ἐπαγγειλαμένων ἥξειν τὸν Γναῖον, τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθησαν. ἐποιοῦντο δὲ τὰς ὑπερθέσεις ταύτας οἱ Γαλάται καὶ διεστρατήγουν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους βουλόμενοι τῶν τε σωμάτων τινὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπερθέσθαι πέραν Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν, λαβεῖν ὑποχείριον, εἰ δὲ μή γε,

LXIX. After the victory over the Galatae at Olympus, when the Romans were encamped at Ancyra, and Cnaeus was on the point of continuing his advance, ambassadors came from the Tectosages asking that Cnaeus would leave his troops in their quarters, and advance himself in the course of the next day into the space between the two camps; and promising that their kings would come to meet him, and discuss the terms of a peace. But when Cnaeus consented, and duly arrived at the appointed place with five hundred horse, the kings did not appear. After his return to the camp, however, the ambassadors came again, and, offering some excuses for the kings, begged him to come once more, as they would send some of their chief men to discuss the whole question. Cnaeus consented, but, without leaving the camp himself, sent Attalus and some tribunes with three hundred horse. The envoys of the Galatae duly appeared and discussed the business: but finally said it was impossible for them to conclude the matter or ratify anything they agreed upon; but they engaged that the kings would come next day to agree on the terms and finally settle the treaty, if the consul would also come to them. Attalus promised that Cnaeus would come, and they separated for that day. But the Galatae were deliberately contriving these procrastinations, and amusing the Romans, because they wanted to get some part of their families and property beyond the river Halys; and, first of all, to get the Roman consul into their hands if they could, but if not, at

B.C. 189. Mid-autumn war with Tectosages.

πάντως ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα δὲ προθέμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκαραδόκουν τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἑτοίμους ἔχοντες ἱππεῖς εἰς χιλίους.

LXX. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γναίου τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ παραχειμάζοντος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, κατὰ τὸν τελευταῖον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὀλυμπιάδος, παρεγένοντο πρεσβεῖαι παρά τε τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων πλειόνων, συμφοροῦσαι στεφάνους τῷ Γναίῳ διὰ τὸ νενικηκέναι τοὺς Γαλάτας. ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου κατοικοῦντες οὐχ οὕτως ἐχάρησαν Ἀντιόχου λειφθέντος ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπολελύσθαι τινὲς μὲν φόρων οἱ δὲ φρουρᾶς, καθόλου δὲ πάντες βασιλικῶν προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς φόβον ἀφῃρῆσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς τούτων ὕβρεως καὶ παρανομίας. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀντιόχου Μουσαῖος καὶ παρὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν πρεσβευταί, βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν ἐπὶ τίσιν αὐτοὺς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν φιλίαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀριαράθου τοῦ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως. . . . ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πόλεων πρεσβείας πάσας ἐπαινέσας καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀποδεξάμενος ἐξαπέστειλε, τοῖς δὲ Γαλάταις ἀπεκρίθη διότι προσδεξάμενος Εὐμένη τὸν βασιλέα, τότε ποιήσεται τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκας.

LXXI. Ὅτι Ὀρτιάγων ὁ Γαλάτης, τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βασιλεύων, ἐπεβάλετο τὴν ἁπάντων τῶν Γαλατῶν δυναστείαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεταστῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐφόδια προσεφέρετο καὶ φύσει καὶ τριβῇ. καὶ γὰρ εὐεργετικὸς ἦν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντεύξεις εὔχαρις

any rate to kill him. With this purpose they watched next day for the coming of the Romans, with a thousand horse ready to fall upon him.

LXX. Meanwhile in Asia the Roman consul Cnaeus Manlius wintered at Ephesus, in the last year of this Olympiad, and was there visited by embassies from the Greek cities in Asia and many others, bringing complimentary crowns to him for his victories over the Galatae. For the entire inhabitants of Asia on this side of Taurus were not so much rejoiced at the prospect given them by Antiochus's defeat of being relieved from tribute, garrisons, or other royal exactions, as at the removal of all fear of the Barbarians, and at their escape from their insolence and lawlessness. Among the rest Musaeus came from Antiochus, and some envoys from the Galatae, desiring to obtain the terms upon which friendship would be granted them; and also from Ariarathes, the King of Cappadocia. . . . The consul complimented the ambassadors from the cities, and dismissed them after a very favourable reception; but he replied to the Galatae that he would not make a treaty with them until King Eumenes (*of Pergamum*), whom he expected, had arrived. Winter of B.C. 189–188.

LXXI. Ortiagon the Galatian, King of the Galatae of Asia, endeavoured to transfer to himself the sovereignty of all the Galatae; and he had many qualifications for such a post, both natural and acquired. For he was open-handed and generous, a man of popular manners and of ready tact; and, Circa B.C. 184.

καὶ συνετός· τὸ δὲ συνέχον παρὰ Γαλάταις ἀνδρώδης ἦν καὶ δυναμικὸς πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. (xxii, 21.) [1]

LXXII. Πολυβίου δ' εἰπόντος τριακοσίας αὐτῶν καταλῦσαι πόλεις Τιβέριον Γράκχον, κωμῳδῶν φησι τοῦτο τῷ Γράκχῳ χαρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς θριαμβικαῖς πομπαῖς. καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἄπιστον τοῦτο λέγει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ συγγραφεῖς ῥᾳδίως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται τὸ ψεῦσμα, καλλωπίζοντες τὰς πράξεις. (xxv. i. ex Strabo, iii. 4.)

LXXIII. Δοξάσας γὰρ μάλιστα τότε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκέναι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφέρειν ῥᾳστώνην τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον ἅτε τοῦ Περσέως καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας ἄρδην ἀνῃρημένης, τότε μεγίστοις ἐνεκύρησε κινδύνοις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γαλατῶν ἀνυπονοήτως ἐπαναστάντων τοῖς καιροῖς. . . . (xxix. 22.)

LXXIV. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἦλθε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἀδελφὸς Ἄτταλος, ἔχων μὲν πρόφασιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐγεγόνει σύμπτωμα περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὅμως ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἕνεκεν τοῦ συγχαρῆναι τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἐπισημασίας διὰ τὸ συμπεπολεμηκέναι καὶ πάντων εὐμενῶς σφίσι μετεσχηκέναι τῶν κινδύνων· τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν Γαλατικὴν περίστασιν ἠναγκασμένος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. . . .

Διόπερ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ προειρημένος συνεχάρη μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, καὶ περὶ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας, ἣν παρέσχετο κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον, ἀπελογίσατο· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρακαθέξοντας τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσοντας διάθεσιν παρεκάλεσε διὰ πλειόνων. (xxx. 1–3.)

[1] Book xxii. is mostly lost. For the Celts of Asia see Livy, vol. ii.

what was most important in the eyes of the Galatae, he was a man of courage and skill in war. . . . *Desunt cætera.*

LXXII. Tiberius Gracchus destroyed three hundred cities of the Celtiberes. This (*Poseidonius*) ridicules, stating that to flatter Gracchus, Polybius described as cities towers like those exhibited in triumphal processions. B.C. 179.

LXXIII. (*Eumenes*) imagined that at last his own kingdom was safe, and that he might look forward to a time of ease, now that Perseus and the whole kingdom of Macedonia were utterly destroyed; yet it was then that he was confronted with the gravest dangers, by the Galatae in Asia seizing the opportunity for an unexpected rising. . . . *Desunt cætera.* Gauls attack King Eumenes of Pergamum (B.C. 169-168).

LXXIV. Attalus, brother of King Eumenes, came to Rome this year, pretending that, even if the disaster of the Gallic rising had not happened to the kingdom, he should have come to Rome to congratulate the senate, and to receive some mark of its approval for having been actively engaged on their side and having loyally shared in all their dangers: as it happened, he had been forced to come at that time to Rome owing to the danger from the Galatae. . . . Accordingly, when Attalus appeared before the senate, he congratulated it on what had happened; expatiated on the loyalty and zeal shown by himself in the war with Perseus; and urged at some length that the senate should send envoys to restrain the audacity of the Galatae, and compel them to confine themselves once more to their original boundaries. Eumenes has to appeal to Rome for help (B.C. 167).

LXXV. Ὡς γὰρ καθόλου δυσαρεστούμενοι ταῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιδημίαις, δόγμα τι τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον, μηδένα βασιλέα παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. . . . καὶ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Εὐμένη κωλυθῆναι τῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως. συνηκολουθήκει δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι πραγματικὸν τούτῳ τῷ διαβουλίῳ. μεγάλου γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικρεμαμένου κινδύνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ, προφανὲς ἦν ὅτι διὰ τὸν σκυβαλισμὸν τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως σύμμαχοι ταπεινωθήσονται πάντες, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται διπλασίως ἐπιρρωσθήσονται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. διὸ πάντῃ πάντως βουλόμενοι ταπεινοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταύτην κατηνέχθησαν τὴν γνώμην.

(xxx. 20.)

LXXVI. Ὅτι τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Γαλατῶν πρεσβευταῖς συνεχώρησαν τὴν αὐτονομίαν μένουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κατοικίαις καὶ μὴ στρατευομένοις ἐκτὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων.

(xxxi. 2.)

LXXVII. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλόμενος τῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ τῆς δωρεᾶς ὑπεραῖραι τὸν Παῦλον, ἐξέπεμψε πρέσβεις καὶ θεωροὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καταγγελοῦντας τοὺς ἐσομένους ἀγῶνας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Δάφνης, ὡς πολλὴν γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν. ἀρχὴν δ' ἐποιήσατο τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πομπείαν, οὕτως ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν. καθηγοῦντό τινες Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔχοντες καθοπλισμὸν ἐν θώραξιν ἁλυσιδωτοῖς, ἄνδρες ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἡλικίαις πεντακισχίλιοι· μεθ' οὓς Μυσοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. συνεχεῖς δ' ἦσαν Κίλικες εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐζώνων τρόπον καθωπλισμένοι

LXXV. On the ground of a general dislike to the visits of kings [the senate] published a decree that 'no king was to visit Rome.' . . . This is the way in which Eumenes was prevented from coming to Rome. And it was not the only important result of this decree. For the Galatae were at that time threatening the kingdom of Eumenes; and it was soon made apparent that by this repulse the king's allies were all greatly depressed, while the Galatae were doubly encouraged to press on the war. And it was in fact their desire to humiliate him in every possible way that induced the senate to adopt this resolution.

Romans intrigue with Galatae against Eumenes (B.C. 167).

LXXVI. To the ambassadors of the Galatae in Asia, they (i.e. the senate) granted autonomy, on condition that they remained within their dwellings and went on no warlike expeditions beyond their own frontiers. . . . *multa desunt.*

B.C. 165.

LXXVII. When this same king (Antiochus Epiphanes) heard of the games in Macedonia held by the Roman proconsul Aemilius Paulus, wishing to outdo Paulus by the splendour of his liberality, he sent envoys to the several cities announcing games to be held by him at Daphne; and it became the rage in Greece to attend them. The public ceremonies began with a procession composed as follows: first came some men armed in the Roman fashion, with their coats made of chain armour, five thousand in the prime of life. Next came five thousand Mysians, who were followed by three thousand Cilicians armed

Galatians conform to eastern customs (B.C. 165).

τρισχίλιοι, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Θρᾷκες τρισχίλιοι καὶ Γαλάται πεντακισχίλιοι. . . . τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πλῆθος οὐ δυνατὸν ἐξηγήσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἴδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἠμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαχρύσοις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι παρέκειντο.

(xxxi. 3.)

LXXVIII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως, φάσκοντες αὐτῶν τέ τινα χωρία παραιρεῖσθαι τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας οὐκ ἀφίστασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐδὲ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας σωματοποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἱρουμένους καὶ βουλομένους πολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν ἀκολούθως κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐλαττοῦν. . . . ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν κατηγορούντων οὔτ' ἀπέρριπτε τὰς διαβολὰς οὔτ' ἐξετίθετο τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην, ἀλλὰ συνετήρει παρ' ἑαυτῇ, διαπιστοῦσα καθόλου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον· τοῖς γε μὴν Γαλάταις αἰεί τι προσετίθει καὶ συνεπίσχυε περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. (xxxi. 6.)

LXXIX. Ὅτι τῶν Μασσαλιητῶν διαπρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κακῶς πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Λιγυστίνων, παραχρῆμα κατέστησαν Φλαμίνιον καὶ Ποπίλιον Λαινᾶτον καὶ Λεύκιον Πόπιον πρεσβευτάς, οἳ καὶ πλέοντες μετὰ τῶν Μασσαλιητῶν προσέσχον τῆς Ὀξυβίων χώρας κατὰ πόλιν Ἄγιτναν· . . .

like light infantry, and wearing gold crowns. Next to them came three thousand Thracians and five thousand Galatae. . . . The number of images of gods it is impossible to tell completely: for images of every god or demigod or hero accepted by mankind were carried there, some gilded and others adorned with gold-embroidered robes; and the myths, belonging to each, according to accepted tradition, were represented by the most costly symbols.

LXXVIII. The ambassadors from Prusias (to Rome) complained of King Eumenes, alleging that he had taken certain places belonging to their country, and had not in any sense evacuated Galatia, or complied with the decrees of the senate; but had been supporting all who favoured himself, and depressing in every possible way those who wished to shape their policy in accordance with the senate's decrees. . . . The senate listened to the accusers, and neither rejected their accusations nor openly expressed its own opinion; but acted with close reserve, thoroughly distrusting both Eumenes and Antiochus, and meanwhile contented itself by continually supporting Galatia and contriving some fresh security for its freedom. B.C. 164.

LXXIX. On the complaint of the ambassadors of Marseilles as to their injuries sustained at the hands of the Ligurians, the senate at once appointed a commission, consisting of Flaminius, Popilius Laenas, and Lucius Pupius, who sailed with the envoys of Marseilles, and landed in the territory of the Oxybii

Roman expedition against the Oxybii and Deciatae, tribes of Transalpine Celts (B.C. 154–153).

Ὁ δὲ Κόιντος συναθροίσας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν τῶν Πλακεντίνων πόλιν, καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν, ἦκεν εἰς τοὺς Ὀξυβίους, στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἄπρωνα ποταμὸν ἀνεδέχετο τοὺς πολεμίους, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ προθύμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν. καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Κόιντος πρὸς τὴν Αἴγιτναν, ἐν ᾗ συνέβη τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρασπονδηθῆναι, τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπέστειλε δεσμίους εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δ' Ὀξύβιοι νομίζοντες ἀπαραίτητον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἁμαρτίαν, παραλόγῳ τινὶ χρησάμενοι θυμῷ καὶ λαβόντες ὁρμὴν παραστατικήν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Δεκιήτας αὐτοῖς συμμῖξαι, περὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἀθροισθέντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Κόιντος ἰδὼν τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὸ θράσος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν μὲν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη, θεωρῶν δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐθαρσὴς ἦν ἄτε τριβὴν ἐν πράγμασιν ἔχων καὶ τῇ φύσει διαφερόντως ἀγχίνους ὑπάρχων. διόπερ ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν, καὶ παρακαλέσας τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς καιροῖς ἦει βάδην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρησάμενος δὲ συντόνῳ προσβολῇ ταχέως ἐνίκησε τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε φυγεῖν προτροπάδην. οἱ δὲ Δεκιῆται ἠθροισμένοι παρῆσαν ὡς μεθέξοντες τοῖς Ὀξυβίοις τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων· ὑστερήσαντες δὲ τῆς μάχης

at the town of Aegitna. . . . Having collected his army at Placentia, Quintus Opimius marched over the Apennines and arrived in the territory of the Oxybii; and pitching his camp on the river Apro, awaited the enemy, being informed that they were mustering their forces and were eager to give him battle. Meanwhile he advanced to Aegitna, where the ambassadors had been outraged, took the city by assault, and sold the inhabitants as slaves, sending the ringleaders of the outrage in chains to Rome. Having done this, he went to meet the enemy. The Oxybii, convinced that their violence to the ambassadors admitted of no terms being granted them, with all the courage of desperation, and excited to the highest pitch of furious enthusiasm, did not wait to be joined by the Deciatae, but, having collected to the number of four thousand, rushed to the attack of their enemy. Quintus was somewhat dismayed by the boldness of their attack, and at the desperate fury of the Barbarians; but was encouraged by observing that the enemy were advancing in complete disorder, for he was an experienced soldier and a man of great natural sagacity. He therefore drew out his men, and, after a considerable harangue, advanced at a slow pace towards the enemy. His charge was delivered with great vigour: he quickly repulsed the enemy, killed a great many of them, and forced the rest into headlong flight. Meanwhile the Deciatae had mustered their forces, and appeared on the ground intending to fight side by side with the Oxybii; but finding themselves too late

τούς τε φεύγοντας ἐξεδέξαντο, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβαλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ μεγάλης ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἡττηθέντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ παραυτίκα πάντες παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν. ὁ δὲ Κόιντος κύριος γενόμενος τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν, παραυτίκα μὲν τῆς χώρας ὅσην ἐνεδέχετο προσέθηκε τοῖς Μασσαλιήταις, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὅμηρα τοὺς Λιγυστίνους ἠνάγκασε διδόναι κατά τινας τακτοὺς χρόνους τοῖς Μασσαλιήταις.

LXXX. Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἐᾶν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν, Δικαίαρχόν τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας καὶ Πυθέαν, ὑφ' οὗ παρακρουσθῆναι πολλούς, ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβαδὸν[1] ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλειόνων ἢ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νήσου, προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ' αὑτὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ' ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ σύγκριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἐοικός, ἐν ᾧ φησι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὅλων, μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύμονι ἐοικὸς αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τἆλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθέου, καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθένδε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρωκεανῖτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάιδος· φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 64, note 2. For other criticism of Pytheas *vide supra*, pp. 80–87.

for the battle, they received the fugitives in their ranks, and after a short time charged the Romans with great fury and enthusiasm; but being worsted in the engagement, they immediately all surrendered themselves and their city to the discretion of the Romans. Having thus become masters of these tribes, Opimius delivered over their territory on the spot to the people of Marseilles, and for the future forced the Ligurians to give hostages at certain fixed intervals to the Marsilians. (Bk. xxxiii. 11.)

LXXX. In treating of the geography of Europe I shall say nothing of the ancient geographers, but shall confine my attention to their modern critics, Dicaearchus, Eratosthenes, who is the most recent writer on geography, and Pytheas, who has misled many readers by professing to have traversed on foot[1] the whole of Britain, the coast line of which island, he says, is more than forty thousand stades. And again by his stories of Thule and the countries in its neighbourhood, 'in which,' he says, 'there is neither unmixed land nor sea nor air, but a kind of compound of all three (like the jelly-fish or Pulmo Marinus), in which earth and sea and everything else are held in suspense, and which forms a kind of connecting link to the whole, through which one can neither walk nor sail.' This substance, which he says is like the Pulmo Marinus, he saw with his own eyes, and the rest he learnt by report: such is Pytheas's story, and he adds that, on his return thence, he traversed the whole of the coast of Europe from

The voyages of Pytheas are discredited by Polybius.

Πολύβιος ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πῶς ἰδιώτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιτο.[1] τὸν δ' Ἐρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν τούτοις, ὅμως περί τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευκέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. πολὺ δέ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ τούτῳ· ὁ μέντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν τῷ Ἑρμῇ πιστεύσαι τις λέγοντι. Ἐρατοσθένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον[2] καλεῖν, Πυθέᾳ δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν "μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος" γελοῖον, ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ κανόνι χρήσασθαι προσῆκον, καθ' οὗ τοσούτους ἐλέγχους αὐτὸς προφέρεται· Ἐρατοσθένους δὲ εἴρηται ἡ περὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄγνοια.

(xxxiv. 5.)

LXXXI. Πάλιν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ἀποφαίνεται, ὅτι ἀγνοεῖ τὰ Ἰβηρικὰ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης, καὶ διότι περὶ αὐτῆς ἔσθ' ὅπου τὰ μαχόμενα ἀποφαίνεται, ὅς γε μέχρι Γαδείρων ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν περιοικεῖσθαι φήσας τὰ ἔξωθεν αὐτῆς, εἴ γε τὰ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι Γαδείρων ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι, τούτων ἐκλαθόμενος κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας περίοδον τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐδαμοῦ μέμνηται.[3]

(xxxiv. 7.)

LXXXII. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν μετὰ τὴν Πυρήνην φησὶν ἕως τοῦ Νάρβωνος ποταμοῦ πεδίον εἶναι, δι' οὗ φέρεσθαι ποταμοὺς Ἰλλέβεριν καὶ

Cadiz to the Tanais. But we cannot believe that a private person, who was also a poor man, should have made such immense journeys by land and sea.[1] Even Eratosthenes doubted this part of his story, though he believed what he said about Britain and Cadiz and Iberia. I would much rather believe the Messenian [Euhemerus] than him. The latter is content with saying that he sailed to one country which he calls Panchaia; while the former asserts that he has actually seen the whole northern coast of Europe up to the very verge of the world, which one would hardly believe of Hermes himself if he said it. Eratosthenes calls Euhemerus a Bergaean,[2] yet believes Pytheas, though Dicaearchus himself did not. . . . Eratosthenes and Dicaearchus give mere popular guesses as to distance.

LXXXI. Eratosthenes is quite ignorant of the geography of Iberia and sometimes makes absolutely contradictory statements about it. He says, for instance, that its western coast as far as Cadiz is inhabited by Galatae, since the whole western side of Europe, as far south as Cadiz, is occupied by that people; and then, quite forgetting he had said this, when taking a survey of the whole of Spain he nowhere mentions the Galatae[3] . . .

LXXXII. In the thirty-fourth book of his Histories, Polybius says that from the Pyrenees to the river Aude the country is flat; and through it flow

[1] He was probably sent by the merchants of Marseilles.

[2] Βεργάζειν, 'to tell travellers' tales'; or to lie.

[3] *Vide supra*, pp. 10–11.

Ῥόσκυνον,[1] ῥέοντας παρὰ πόλεις ὁμωνύμους, κατοικουμένας ὑπὸ Κελτῶν.

(xxxiv. 10.)

LXXXIII. Ἔτι φησὶ Πολύβιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατ' Ἀκυληίαν μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὑρεθῆναι χρυσεῖον οὕτως εὐφυὲς ὥστ' ἐπὶ δύο πόδας ἀποσύραντι τὴν ἐπιπολῆς γῆν εὐθὺς ὀρυκτὸν εὑρίσκεσθαι χρυσόν. τὸ δ' ὄρυγμα μὴ πλειόνων ὑπάρχειν ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. εἶναι δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸν μὲν αὐτόθεν καθαρόν, κυάμου μέγεθος ἢ θέρμου, τοῦ ὀγδόου μέρους μόνον ἀφεψηθέντος, τὸν δὲ δεῖσθαι μὲν χωνείας πλείονος, σφόδρα δὲ λυσιτελοῦς. συνεργασαμένων δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ παραχρῆμα τὸ χρυσίον εὐωνότερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. αἰσθομένους δὲ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους μονοπωλεῖν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς συνεργαζομένους.

(xxxiv. 10.)

LXXXIV. Πύρινος πόλεμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Κελτίβηρας συσταθείς· θαυμαστὴν γὰρ ἔσχε τὴν ἰδιότητα τήν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἀγώνων. τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς ἐπίπαν μία μάχη κρίνει, σπανίως δὲ δευτέρα, καὶ τὰς μάχας αὐτὰς εἰς καιρὸς ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον καὶ σύμπτωσιν τῆς δυνάμεως. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον τἀναντία συνέβαινε τοῖς προειρημένοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κινδύνους ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ νὺξ διέλυε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτ' εἴκειν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὔτε παρακαθιέναι τοῖς σώμασι βουλομένων διὰ τὸν κόπον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς καὶ μεταμελείας αὖθις ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ποιουμένων· τόν γε μὴν ὅλον

[1] To-day, Elne and Castel-Roussillon.

the Illeberis and Ruscino, past some cities[1] of the same names inhabited by Celts.

The Taurisci discover a gold mine.

LXXXIII. Near Aquileia, Polybius says, in the territory of the Noric Taurisci, in my own time a gold mine was discovered, so easy to work, that by scraping away the surface soil for two feet, gold could be found immediately. The seam of gold was not more than fifteen feet; some of it was found unmixed with alloy in nuggets of the size of a bean or lupine, only an eighth of it disappearing in the furnace; but some of it required more elaborate smelting, but would still pay very well. Accordingly, on the Italians joining the Barbarians in working this mine, in two months the price of gold went down a third throughout Italy, and when the Taurisci discovered that, they expelled their Italian fellow-workers and kept the monopoly themselves. . . . *Desunt cætera.*

Fierce character of Celtiberian war.

LXXXIV. The war between the Romans and Celtiberians was called the 'fiery war'; for it was of a peculiarly fierce kind and remarkable for the frequency of its battles. The wars in Greece and Asia were as a rule settled by one battle, or in rare cases by two; and the battles themselves were decided by the result of the first charge and impact of the two armies. But in this war things were quite different. As a rule the battles were stopped only by the fall of night; the men neither lost heart nor would yield to bodily fatigue; but returned again and again with fresh vigour to renew the

πόλεμον καὶ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως διακρίσεων ὁ χειμὼν ἐπὶ ποσὸν διεῖργε. καθόλου γάρ, εἴ τις διανοηθείη πύρινον πόλεμον, οὐκ ἂν ἕτερον ἢ τοῦτον νοήσειε.

(xxxv. 1.)

LXXXV. Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κελτίβηρες ἀνοχὰς ποιησάμενοι πρὸς Μάρκον Κλαύδιον τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαπέστειλαν τὰς πρεσβείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, οὗτοι μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, καραδοκοῦντες τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς συγκλήτου, Μάρκος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς τοὺς Λυσιτανούς, καὶ τὴν Νερκόβρικα πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλών, ἐν Κορδύβᾳ τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐποιεῖτο. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παραγενομένων τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων,[1] ὅσοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ᾑροῦντο, παρεδέξαντο πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρουακῶν[2] πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ἐκέλευσαν κατασκηνοῦν διὰ τὸ πολεμίους ὑπάρχειν, ἕως βουλεύσωνται περὶ τῶν ὅλων· γενομένου δὲ καιροῦ πρὸς ἔντευξιν, κατὰ πόλιν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰσῆγε πρώτους τοὺς συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὄντες βάρβαροι διετίθεντο λόγους καὶ πάσας ἐξευκρινεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τὰς διαφοράς, ὑποδεικνύντες ὡς, εἰ μὴ συστήσονται καὶ τεύξονται τῆς ἁρμοζούσης κολάσεως οἱ πεπολεμηκότες, παραυτίκα μέν, ἐπανελθόντων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἐκ χειρὸς προσεπιθήσουσι τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς ὡς προδόταις γεγονόσι, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὶ κινήσουσι πραγμάτων ἀρχήν, ἐὰν ἀνεπιτίμητοι διαφύγωσιν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἁμαρτίας, ἑτοίμους δὲ πάντας πρὸς καινοτομίαν

[1] The Belli and Titthi were probably clients of the Arevacae, and dwelt in that part of Spain now occupied by the provinces of Guadalajara, Segovia, Soria and Zargoza.

[2] The Arevacae dwelt to the north of the Belli and Titthi.

combat. The whole war, and its series of pitched battles, was at length interrupted for a time by the winter. One therefore could hardly conceive a war more nearly answering our notion of a 'fiery war' than this. . . .

Celtiberian affairs. B.C. 153–151.

LXXXV. The Celtiberians, after making a truce with the consul M. Claudius Marcellus, had sent ambassadors to Rome who remained there quietly waiting for the answer of the senate. Meanwhile M. Claudius went on an expedition against the Lusitani, took Nercobrica by assault, and then went into winter quarters at Corduba. Of the ambassadors who came to Rome the senate admitted those from the Belli and Titthi,[1] who were favourable to Rome, to enter the city; but ordered those from the Arevacae[2] to lodge on the other side of the Tiber, as being at war with Rome, till such time as the senate should have decided the whole question. When the time for the interview was come, the praetors introduced the envoys from their allies first. Barbarians as they were, they made a set speech, and endeavoured to explain clearly the causes of all the dissension prevailing in their country, pointing out that 'unless those who had broken out into war were reduced to tranquillity and punished as they deserved, the very moment the Roman legions left Iberia they would inflict punishment upon the Belli and Titthi as traitors; and that if they escaped unpunished for their first act of hostility, they would make all the

ποιήσουσι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὡς ἱκανοὶ γεγονότες ἀντίπαλοι Ῥωμαίοις. διόπερ ἠξίουν ἢ μένειν τὰ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ διαβαίνειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ὕπατον[1] ἐφεδρεύσοντα τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ κολάσοντα τὰς Ἀρανακῶν ἀδικίας, ἢ βουλομένους ἀπάγειν τὰς δυνάμεις παραδειγματιστέον εἶναι τὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἐπανάστασιν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι ποιεῖν θαρρῇ τὸ παραπλήσιον τούτοις· οἱ μὲν οὖν Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων συμμαχοῦντες Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια διελέχθησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις εἰσήγαγον τοὺς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ' Ἀραυάκαι παρελθόντες κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις ὑποπεπτωκότως καὶ ταπεινῶς, τῇ γε μὴν προαιρέσει, ὡς διέφαινον, οὐκ εἰκούσῃ τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδ' ἡττωμένῃ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλα πολλάκις ὑπεδείκνυον, καὶ τὰς προγεγενημένας μάχας ἀμφιδηρίτους ποιοῦντες ἐν πάσαις ἔμφασιν ἀπέλιπον ὡς ἐπικυδεστέρων αὐτῶν γεγονότων. τέλος δ' ἦν τῶν λόγων· εἰ μέν τι δεῖ ῥητὸν πρόστιμον ὑπομένειν τῆς ἀγνοίας, ἀναδέχεσθαι τοῦτο ἔφασαν, τελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπανάγειν ἠξίουν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ Τιβέριον ὁμολογίας αὐτοῖς γενομένας πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.[2]

(xxxv. 2.)

LXXXVI. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ διακούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, εἰσήγαγον τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου πρέσβεις. θεωροῦντες δὲ καὶ τούτους ῥέποντας ἐπὶ τὴν διάλυσιν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν

[1] From 195 to 154 B.C. the two divisions of Spain were entrusted to praetors.

[2] That is, B.C. 177.

tribes of Iberia ripe for an outbreak from the belief that they were capable of coping with Rome. They begged, therefore, that the legions should remain in Iberia, and that each year a consul[1] should come thither to protect the allies of Rome and punish the depredations of the Arevacae; or, if they wished to withdraw the legions, they should first take signal vengeance for the outbreak of this tribe, that no one should venture to do the like again.' Such, or to this effect, was the speech of the envoys of the Belli and Titthi who were in alliance with Rome. The envoys of the hostile tribe were then introduced. On coming forward the Arevacae assumed a feigned tone of submission and humility in the language of their answer, without being, as was evident, at all yielding in their hearts or acknowledging themselves beaten. On the contrary, they continually hinted at the uncertainty of fortune; and speaking of the battles that had taken place as undecided, they conveyed the impression that they had had the best of the contest in them all. The upshot of their speech was this: 'If they must submit to some definite mulct for their error, they were ready to do so: but, when that was completed, they demanded that things should revert to the position fixed by their treaty made with the senate in the time of Tiberius Gracchus.'[2]

LXXXVI. The senators having thus heard both sides called in the legates from Marcellus; and when they saw that they also were inclined to a pacification,

προσνέμοντα τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τοῖς πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συμμάχοις, τοῖς μὲν Ἀραυάκαις ἔδωκαν καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι Μάρκελλος ἀμφοτέροις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ διασαφήσει τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ νομίσαντες τοὺς συμμάχους ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέροντα σφίσι λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀραυάκας ἀκμὴν μεγάλα φρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειλιᾶν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐντολὰς ἔδωκαν δι' ἀπορρήτων τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου πρεσβευταῖς πολεμεῖν γενναίως καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξίως. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἐποίησαν κατάμονον, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ διαπιστήσαντες ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ἔμελλον διαπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· ἤδη γὰρ ἔτυχον ὕπατοι τότε καθεσταμένοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς παρειληφότες Αὖλος Ποστούμιος καὶ Λεύκιος Λικίνιος Λεύκολλος· ἔπειτα περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐγίνοντο φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς, νομίζοντες διὰ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως κριθήσεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· κρατηθέντων μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντας ὑπέλαβον σφίσι ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀποστρεψαμένων δὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα φόβον οὐ μόνον Ἀραυάκας καταθαρρήσειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

(xxxv. 3.)

LXXXVII. Ὅσῳ δὲ φιλοτιμότερον ἡ σύγκλητος διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, τοσούτῳ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα ἀπέβαινε παραδοξότερα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Κοΐντου τοῦ τὸν πρότερον

and that Marcellus was more inclined to favour the enemy than the allied tribes, they answered the Arevacae that Marcellus would declare in Iberia to both parties the decision of the senate. However, they were convinced in their own minds that their true interests were such as the envoys of the allied tribes suggested, and that the Arevacae were still inclined to haughty independence, and that their own commander was afraid of them: they therefore gave secret instructions to the envoys of Marcellus to carry on the war with spirit, and as the honour of the country demanded. But when they had thus determined on a continuance of the war, feeling no confidence in Marcellus, they determined first of all to send a commander to relieve him in Iberia, as the new consuls Aulus Postumius and Lucius Licinius Lucullus had just taken up their office. They then entered on their preparations with spirit and vigour, because they believed that the Iberian question would be decided by the result of this campaign: if these enemies were beaten, they assumed that all others would accept the orders of Rome; but that, if the Arevacae proved able to ward off the punishment that threatened them, not only would their spirits be again raised, but those of all the other Iberian tribes besides. B.C. 151.

LXXXVII. The more determined however the senate was to carry on the war, the greater became their embarrassment. For the report brought to Rome by Q. Fulvius Nobilior, the commander in Terror inspired by Celtiberians.

ἐνιαυτὸν στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσαμένων ἠγγελκότων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τήν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως κινδύνων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν Κελτιβήρων, τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου προφανῶς ἀποδειλιῶντος τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνέπεσέ τις πτοία τοῖς νέοις παράλογος, οἵαν οὐκ ἔφασαν οἱ πρεσβῦται γεγενημένην πρότερον. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προύβη τὰ τῆς ἀποδειλιάσεως ὥστε μήτε χιλιάρχους προπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἱκανούς, ἀλλ' ἐλλείπειν τὰς χώρας, τὸ πρότερον εἰθισμένων πολλαπλασιόνων προπορεύεσθαι τῶν καθηκόντων, μήτε τοὺς εἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων πρεσβευτὰς ὑπακούειν, οὓς ἔδει πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τοὺς νέους διακλίνειν τὰς καταγραφάς, καὶ τοιαύτας πορίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἃς λέγειν μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἦν, ἐξετάζειν δ' ἀπρεπές, ἐπιτέμνειν δ' ἀδύνατον.

(xxxv. 4.)

LXXXVIII. Ἴδιον ἔχουσιν οἱ Κελτίβηρες κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον. θεωροῦντες γὰρ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν πεζοὺς πιεζομένους, παρακαταβάντες ἀπολείπουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει· ἄκροις γὰρ τοῖς ἀγωγεῦσι τῶν ἵππων πατταλίσκους μικροὺς ἔχοντες προσηρτημένους, τούτους ἐπιμελῶς πήξαντες πειθαρχεῖν διδάσκουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τάξει, μέχρις ἀνακάμψαντες ἀνασπάσωσι τοὺς παττάλους.

(*Frag.* 95.)

LXXXIX. Οἱ Κελτίβηρες τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν μαχαιρῶν πολὺ διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ γὰρ κέντημα πρακτικὸν καὶ καταφορὰν ἔχει δυναμένην ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μέροιν. ᾗ καὶ

Iberia in the previous year (B.C. 153), and those who had served under him, of the perpetual recurrence of the pitched battles, the number of the fallen, and the valour of the Celtiberians, combined with the notorious fact that Marcellus shrank in terror from the war, caused such a panic in the minds of the new levies as the old men declared had never happened before. To such an extent did the panic go, that sufficient men were not found to come forward for the office of military tribune, and these posts were consequently not entirely filled up; whereas heretofore a larger number than were wanted had been wont to volunteer for the duty: nor would the men nominated by the consuls as *legati* to accompany the commanders consent to serve; and, worst of all, the young men tried to avoid the levies, and put forward such excuses as were disgraceful for them to allege, and beneath the investigation of the consuls, and yet impossible to refute.

Celtiberian tactics.

LXXXVIII. The Celtiberians have a peculiar manœuvre in war. When they see their infantry hard pressed, they dismount and leave their horses standing in their places. They have small pegs attached to their leading reins, and having fixed them carefully into the ground, they train their horses to keep their places obediently in line until they come back and pull up the pegs.

LXXXIX. The Celtiberians excel the rest of the world in the construction of their swords; for their point is strong and serviceable and they can deliver

Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς πατρίους ἀποθέμενοι μαχαίρας ἐκ τῶν κατ' Ἀννίβαν μετέλαβον τὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων. καὶ τὴν μὲν κατασκευὴν μετέλαβον, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ σιδήρου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν οὐδαμῶς δύνανται μιμεῖσθαι.[1]

(*Frag.* 96.)

APOLLODORUS OF ATHENS

Apollodorus of Athens flourished circa B.C. 140. He was a prolific and authoritative writer on mythology, history, geography, and grammar. Unfortunately most of his works are known to us only through fragments. In B.C. 123, the Romans entered Transalpine Gaul for the definite purpose of acquiring a safe line of communication between Italy and the Spanish Peninsula. At that period the Arverni and the Aedui

I. Αἰδούσιοι σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τῇ Κελτικῇ Γαλατίᾳ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικῶν δ'. (Steph. Byz.)

(*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum vol.* 1, *p.* 437, *frag.* 60.)

II. Ἀρόερνοι, ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον τῶν πρὸς τῇ Κελτικῇ Γαλατῶν, Ἀπολλόδωρος τετάρτῃ χρονικῶν "Κελτῶν Ἀροέρνους." (Steph. Byz.)

(*Idem, vol.* 1, *p.* 437, *frag.* 62.)

POSEIDONIUS OF APAMEA

Poseidonius was born at Apamea in Syria circa 135 B.C. He was the most learned and influential of the later Stoics. Having visited the West of Europe he founded a school at Rhodes where Cicero was his pupil in 78 B.C., and where he was honoured

a cut with both edges. Therefore the Romans abandoned their ancestral swords after the Hannibalian war and adopted those of the Iberians. They adopted, I say, the construction of the swords, but they can by no means imitate the excellence of the steel or the other points in which they are so elaborately finished.[1]

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were engaged in a struggle for the supremacy of Gaul. The Arverni had joined the Allobroges in their struggle against the Romans at the outbreak of the war, and this naturally decided the Romans to seek the friendship of the Aedui. This alliance is mentioned in *excerpt* 1 below, and endured till Gaul was finally conquered by Julius Caesar.

I. According to Apollodorus in his Chronologies, B.C. 123. the Aedui accompanied the Romans as allies in Gaul.

II. The Arverni are the most warlike of the Galatae on the Celtic border, according to Apollodorus in the fourth book of his Chronologies, 'the Arverni of the Celts.'

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with two visits from Pompey, the first in 67 B.C., the second in 62 B.C.

It is not possible to determine the extent of his travels in Western Europe, but it is certain that he visited and explored the Spanish Peninsula and the country round the Alps. It is also probable that he

[1] This fragment can hardly belong to Polybius. Cf. *supra*, excerpt xxvii. Polybius was too careful a writer to fall into such a contradiction.

penetrated to Britain by the trade route along the Rhone, but with the interior of Gaul he seems to have been unacquainted.

He wrote, among several other works, a continuation, extending to fifty-two books, of the Histories of Polybius in which he seems to have dealt chiefly with the events between 145–82 B.C. In this work he recorded his observations in Western Europe, and preserved much information of the highest value to students of Celtic history. Unfortunately his work is known to us only in fragments, found chiefly in Diodorus Siculus and in Strabo. Both these compilers took some liberties with the work of Poseidonius, but the cross references given below will enable the reader to compare the two redactions, which should be further compared with Caesar's account of Gaul in his *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 13–20, where Poseidonius is freely made use of. Owing to the custom among

I. Κατοικεῖν δέ φασι τὴν Βρεττανικὴν αὐτόχθονα γένη, καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν βίον ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς διατηροῦντα. Ἄρμασι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρωες ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ κεχρῆσθαι παραδέδονται. Καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἢ ξύλων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκειμένας. Τήν τε συναγωγὴν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ποιοῦνται, τοὺς στάχυς αὐτοὺς ἀποτέμνοντες καὶ θησαυρίζοντες εἰς τὰς καταστέγους οἰκήσεις· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοὺς παλαιοὺς στάχυς καθ' ἡμέραν τίλλειν, καὶ κατεργαζομένους ἔχειν τὴν τροφήν. Τοῖς δὲ ἤθεσιν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένους τῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἀγχινοίας

ancient writers of not acknowledging the sources of their information, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a passage should be assigned to Poseidonius or to Pytheas,[1] and the accounts of both these explorers should be compared.

In extract XXVIII. quoted below Poseidonius would make the terms Celt and Hyperborean synonymous, but Hyperborean was more generally given a wider meaning, and used to connote all the peoples of Northern Europe including the Celts.

All that Poseidonius relates of the bards, whom he is the first writer to mention, of the feasting customs, of turning *deisiol*, of duels, of fighting tactics, of weapons, &c., is to be found in the old Irish saga, the Táin Bó Cúalnge, except the custom of human sacrifices which at the beginning of the Christian era had seemingly ceased to be practised in Ireland.

Life in Britain circa B.C. 100.

I. The inhabitants of Britain are said to be autochthonous, and to have preserved their original manners. In war they use chariots, as is related of ancient Greek heroes in the Trojan war. The houses they inhabit are unpretentious in appearance, and for the most part built of reeds and wood.[2] They gather their harvest of corn by cutting off the ears and placing them in underground pits. From these pits they take the grains longest in store, and make of them their daily food. Their manners are simple, and very far removed from the craftiness and corruption

[1] For Pytheas, *vide supra*, pp. 52–88. [2] Cf. *infra*, p. 345, excerpt xix.

καὶ πονηρίας· τάς τε διαίτας εὐτελεῖς ἔχειν, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου γεννωμένης τρυφῆς πολὺ διαλλάττοντας. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἔχειν διάθεσιν παντελῶς κατεψυγμένην, ὡς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄρκτον κειμένην· βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας πολλοὺς ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰρηνικῶς διακεῖσθαι.[1]

(*Diodorus Sic.* v. 21.)

II. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν εἰς Βρεττανίαν παραγενηθῶμεν·[2] νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν φυομένου κασσιτέρου διέξιμεν. Τῆς γὰρ Βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε διαφερόντως εἰσί, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγάς. Οὗτοι τὸν κασσίτερον κατασκευάζουσι, φιλοτέχνως ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσαν αὐτὸν γῆν. Αὕτη δὲ πετρώδης οὖσα, διαφυὰς ἔχει γεώδεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πόρον κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν. Ἀποτυποῦντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμούς, κομίζουσιν εἴς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἴκτιν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀναξηραινομένου τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου, ταῖς ἁμάξαις εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῆ τὸν κασσίτερον. Ἴδιον δέ τι συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους, τὰς μεταξὺ κειμένας τῆς τε Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς. Κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου πληρουμένου νῆσοι φαίνονται· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀποῤῥεούσης τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πολὺν τόπον ἀναξηραινούσης, θεωροῦνται χεῤῥόνησοι.[3] Ἐντεῦθεν δ' οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων

[1] Cf. Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v. 12, who reproduces Poseidonius except as regards the climate.

[2] This account is now lost: this and similar sentences are interspersed by Diodorus.

of the men of the present day. They lead a steady life, and know nothing of the luxury produced by riches. The isle of Britain is thickly populated. The climate is very cold, the isle being situated under the Bear. A number of kings and chiefs govern the country, and these, as a rule, live in peace with one another.[1]

Its tin trade.

II. Of the customs and other peculiarities of the country we shall speak when we come to the history of Caesar's expedition to Britain.[2] This is the place to speak of the tin that is mined there. The Britons of the neighbourhood of Cape Belerium are very friendly towards strangers, and, from their contact with them, are somewhat civilised. It is they who prepare the tin, working with skill the mine that yields it. The mine is of a stony nature, and runs in seams into the bosom of the earth, whence the miners extract the tin, and purify it by smelting. They fashion the lumps of metal into the shape of dies, and then convey them to an island off Britain, called Ictis, carrying over the lumps of tin on chariots at low tide when the intervening ground is above water. One remarkable peculiarity of the neighbouring islands between Europe and Britain is that at high tide they are completely surrounded by water, but at low water the sea recedes, and a large part of the land is exposed giving the islands the appearance of peninsulæ.[3] There the merchants purchase the tin

[3] This was true of Thanet, which was probably Ictis. *Vide* Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, p. 154; Twine, *De Reb. Albion*, i. 25; for other views see Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 200; Hawkins, *Tin Trade*; Smith's *Cassiterides*; De la Beche, *Geology of Cornwall*, p. 524.

ὠνοῦνται, καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὡς τριάκοντα, κατάγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κασσιτέρου τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.[1] (*idem* v. 22.)

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν προσηγορίας διήλθομεν,[2] καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν δέον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. Ἡ τοίνυν Γαλατία κατοικεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν διαφόρων τοῖς μεγέθεσι. Τὰ μέγιστα γὰρ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἐλάχιστα πέντε μυριάδας· ὧν ἐστὶν ἓν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχον συγγένειαν παλαιὰν καὶ φιλίαν, τὴν μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων διαμένουσαν.[3] Κειμένη δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους, χειμέριός ἐστι καὶ ψυχρὰ διαφερόντως. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἐν ταῖς συννεφέσιν ἡμέραις, ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν ὄμβρων χιόνι πολλῇ νίφεται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς αἰθρίας κρυστάλλῳ καὶ πάγοις ἐξαισίοις πληθύει· δι' ὧν οἱ ποταμοὶ πηγνύμενοι, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως γεφυροῦνται. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ὁδῖται κατ' ὀλίγους κατὰ τοῦ κρυστάλλου πορευόμενοι διαβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατοπέδων μυριάδες μετὰ σκευοφόρων καὶ ἁμαξῶν γεμουσῶν ἀσφαλῶς περαιοῦνται. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων ποταμῶν ῥεόντων διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας, καὶ τοῖς ῥείθροις ποικίλως τὴν πεδιάδα [γῆν] τεμνόντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ λιμνῶν ἀβύσσων ῥέουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἔχουσι τὰς πηγὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιῤῥοίας· τὴν δ' ἐκβολὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ποιοῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν. Μέγιστος δ' ἔστι τῶν εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς πέλαγος ῥεόντων ὁ Ῥοδανός, τὰς μὲν γονὰς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς Ἀλπείοις ὄρεσι, πέντε δὲ στόμασιν ἐξερευγόμενος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ῥεόντων μέγιστοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν ὅ τε Δανούβιος[4] καὶ ὁ Ῥῆνος,

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 349, excerpt xxiii. [2] *Vide* p. 144, excerpt ii.

from the natives, and transport it to Gaul. Finally, loading it on horses, they journey across Gaul on foot in about 30 days to the mouth of the Rhone. Let this satisfy for our account of the tin.[1]

Description of Gaul.

III. Having explained the origin of the name of the Galatae,[2] we must now speak of the country itself. Gaul is now inhabited by several tribes of various populations; the stronger tribes numbering about 200,000 men; the weaker about 50,000. Of these tribes there is one which to our day has remained faithful to an old friendship and affection towards the Romans.[3] As Gaul is to a large extent situated under the Bear, the winter there is long and extremely cold. In the misty days of the winter season snow falls instead of rain; and when the sky is clear it freezes into solid ice, which transforms the frozen rivers into natural bridges. Not only do travellers journeying in small parties cross over the ice in perfect safety, but even armies numbering tens of thousands and laden with carts and baggage. Gaul is intersected by large and numerous rivers winding through its plains: some have their sources in deep lakes, some rush down from the mountains; the former discharging into the ocean, the latter into the Mediterranean. Of the rivers discharging into the Mediterranean the largest is the Rhone. It has its rise in the Alps, and enters the sea by five mouths. Of the rivers flowing into the ocean the Danube[4] and Rhine

[3] The Aedui, *vide supra*, p. 302, excerpt i.

[4] The Elbe is certainly meant here.

[ὃν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις Καῖσαρ, ὁ κληθεὶς θεός, ἔζευξε παραδόξως, καὶ περαιώσας πεζῇ τὴν δύναμιν, ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς πέραν κατοικοῦντας αὐτοῦ Γαλάτας.][1] Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πλωτοὶ ποταμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Κελτικήν εἰσι, περὶ ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. Πάντες δὲ σχεδὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάγου πηγνύμενοι, γεφυροῦσι τὰ ῥεῖθρα, καὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἰδιότητα ποιοῦντος τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ὀλισθαίνειν, ἀχύρων ἐπιβαλλομένων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀσφαλῆ τὴν διάβασιν ἔχουσι.[2]

(*idem* v. 25.)

IV. Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον συμβαίνει κατὰ τὴν πλείστην τῆς Γαλατίας, περὶ οὗ παραλιπεῖν οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγούμεθα. Ἀπὸ γὰρ θερινῆς δύσεως καὶ ἄρκτου πνεῖν εἰώθασιν ἄνεμοι τηλικαύτην ἔχοντες σφοδρότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε ἀναρπάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λίθους χειροπληθιαίους τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ τῶν ψηφίδων ἁδρομερῆ κονιορτόν· καθόλου δὲ καταιγίζοντες λάβρως, ἁρπάζουσιν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς ἀναβάτας. Διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ ψύχους διαφθειρομένης τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα κράσεως, οὔτε οἶνον, οὔτε ἔλαιον φέρει. Διόπερ τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ τούτων τῶν καρπῶν στερισκόμενοι, πόμα κατασκευάζουσιν ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ζύθος, καὶ τὰ κηρία πλύνοντες, τῷ τούτων ἀποπλύματι χρῶνται. Κάτοινοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ὑπερβολήν, τὸν εἰσαγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων οἶνον ἄκρατον ἐμφοροῦνται, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λάβρῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ, καὶ μεθυσθέντες, εἰς ὕπνον ἢ μανιώδεις διαθέσεις τρέπονται. Διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὴν συνήθη φιλαργυρίαν ἔρμαιον ἡγοῦνται τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν φιλοινίαν. Οὗτοι γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῶν πλωτῶν

[1] The words in brackets are additions by Diodorus.

are reputed to be the largest. [It is over the latter river that the deified Caesar in our times built his wonderful bridge, and, transporting his army over it, conquered the Galatae on the opposite bank.][1] Several other navigable rivers run through Gaul, but it would take too long to describe them here. Nearly all these rivers become frozen, and form natural bridges. In order to prevent travellers from slipping on it owing to its natural smoothness, and to afford a safer footing, they scatter straw over the ice.[2]

IV. A phenomenon too remarkable to pass over is observed throughout the greater part of Gaul. The north-west winds blow with such rude force that they raise from the earth stones as large as a fist, and a thick grit of gravel. Lastly, violent whirlwinds carry off the men's armour and clothes, and blow the riders from their horses. To such an extent does the excessive cold attenuate the density of the atmosphere that in Gaul the vine and olive do not grow. Being deprived of these fruits the Galatae make from barley a drink which they call *zythus*. They flavour water with honey and use it as a drink. Merchants bring them undiluted wine of which they are very fond, and which they drink so greedily that they become drunk, and fall into either a deep sleep or a violent outburst. Moreover, many of the Italian merchants, actuated by their usual greed, do not fail to profit by the Gauls' love for wine. For transporting the wine to them,

Zythus and wine.

[2] On the climate of Gaul, cf. *supra*, p. 40, excerpt vi., and note.

ποταμῶν πλοίοις, διὰ δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος [χώρας] ἁμάξαις κομίζοντες τὸν οἶνον, ἀντιλαμβάνουσι τιμῆς πλῆθος ἄπιστον· διδόντες γὰρ οἴνου κεράμιον, ἀντιλαμβάνουσι παῖδα, τοῦ πόματος διάκονον ἀμειβόμενοι. (*idem* v. 26.)

V. Κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄργυρος μὲν τὸ σύνολον οὐ γίνεται, χρυσὸς δὲ πολύς, ὃν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἡ φύσις ἄνευ μεταλλείας καὶ κακοπαθείας ὑπουργεῖ. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν ποταμῶν ῥύσις σκολιοὺς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἔχουσα, καὶ τοῖς τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρῶν ὄχθοις προσαράττουσα, καὶ μεγάλους ἀπορρηγνῦσα κολωνούς, πληροῖ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. Τοῦτο δ' οἱ περὶ τὰς ἐργασίας ἀσχολούμενοι συνάγοντες, ἀλήθουσιν καὶ συγκόπτουσι τὰς ἐχούσας τὸ ψῆγμα βώλους· διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς φύσεως τὸ γεῶδες πλύναντες, παραδιδόασιν ἐν ταῖς καμίνοις εἰς τὴν χωνείαν. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ σωρεύοντες χρυσοῦ πλῆθος, καταχρῶνται πρὸς κόσμον, οὐ μόνον αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ψέλλια φοροῦσι· περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐχένας κρίκους παχεῖς ὁλοχρύσους, καὶ δακτυλίους ἀξιολόγους, ἔτι δὲ χρυσοῦς θώρακας.[1] Ἴδιον δέ τι συμβαίνει καὶ παράδοξον παρὰ τοῖς ἄνω Κελτοῖς περὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν γινόμενον.[2] Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀνειμένοις ἔρριπται πολὺς χρυσὸς ἀνατεθειμένος τοῖς θεοῖς· καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐδεὶς ἅπτεται τούτου, διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν· καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν.

(*idem* v. 27.)

VI. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῖς μὲν σώμασίν εἰσιν εὐμήκεις, ταῖς δὲ σαρξὶ κάθυγροι καὶ λευκοί· ταῖς δὲ κόμαις οὐ μόνον ἐκ φύσεως ξανθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν αὔξειν τὴν φυσικὴν τῆς χρόας ἰδιότητα. Τιτάνου γὰρ ἀποπλύματι σμῶντες τὰς τρίχας συνεχῶς, ἵνα διαφανεῖς ὦσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετώπων ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ τοὺς τένοντας

they use boats on the navigable rivers and carts across the level country. They receive fancy prices, for in exchange for a cask of wine they get a young slave.

Gold.

V. Gaul is absolutely without silver mines, but has a large quantity of native gold. This the people gather without any toil or trouble. As the waves break obliquely against the steep shores they detach large fragments of rock full of gold ingots. Setting to work the inhabitants diligently collect and grind the boulders, and washing away the earthy deposits smelt the residue in furnaces. Thus they obtain a quantity of gold which is used for ornaments, not only for the women but also for the men, for they make bracelets of it which they wear on their wrists and arms. They also make massive collars and remarkable rings of pure gold and even cuirasses.[1] Respecting temples[2] the people of interior Gaul furnish a peculiar custom. In the temples and sacred groves of this district are to be found large quantities of gold consecrated to the gods; and, although the Celts are excessively fond of money, yet, through fear of the deities, not one of them dare touch these.

Ornaments.

Temples.

Appearance and coiffures of Celts.

VI. The Galatae are of tall stature; they have soft flesh and white skin. Not only is their hair naturally blonde, but they endeavour to heighten this colour by artificial means. To make the hair lustrous they wash it frequently in a lotion of lime. They twist it up from the brow towards the top of

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 347, excerpt xxi. [2] Did the Celts build temples?

ἀνασπῶσιν· ὥστε τὴν πρόσοψιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι Σατύροις καὶ Πᾶσιν ἐοικυῖαν· παχύνονται γὰρ αἱ τρίχες ἀπὸ τῆς κατεργασίας, ὥστε μηδὲν τῆς τῶν ἵππων χαίτης διαφέρειν. Τὰ δὲ γένεια τινὲς μὲν ξυρῶνται, τινὲς δὲ μετρίως ὑποτρέφουσιν· οἱ δ' εὐγενεῖς τὰς μὲν παρειὰς ἀπολειαίνουσι, τὰς δ' ὑπήνας ἀνειμένας ἐῶσιν, ὥστε τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι. Διόπερ ἐσθιόντων μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπλέκονται ταῖς τροφαῖς, πινόντων δὲ καθάπερ διά τινος ἠθμοῦ φέρεται τὸ πόμα. Δειπνοῦσι δὲ καθήμενοι πάντες οὐκ ἐπὶ θρόνων, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑποστρώμασι χρώμενοι λυκῶν ἢ κυνῶν δέρμασι. Διακονοῦνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτάτων παίδων ἐχόντων ἡλικίαν, ἀῤῥένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν. Πλησίον δ' αὐτῶν ἐσχάραι κεῖνται γέμουσαι πυρός, καὶ λέβητας ἔχουσαι καὶ ὀβελίσκους πλήρεις κρεῶν ὁλομερῶν. Τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν κρεῶν μοίραις γεραίρουσι·[1] καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Αἴαντα παρεισάγει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριστέων, ὅτε πρὸς Ἕκτορα μονομαχήσας ἐνίκησε·

Νώτοισι δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρε.[2]

Καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐωχίας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπερωτῶσι τίνες εἰσὶ, καὶ τίνων χρείαν ἔχουσιν. Εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἅμιλλαν καταστάντες, ἐκ προκλήσεως μονομαχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, παρ' οὐδὲν τιθέμενοι τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν.[3] Ἐνισχύει γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρου λόγος, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους εἶναι συμβέβηκε, καὶ δι' ἐτῶν ὡρισμένων πάλιν βιοῦν, εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσδυομένης.[4] Διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐνίους ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας τοῖς οἰκείοις τετελευτηκόσιν

[1] Cf. Old Irish Tale, *Fled Bricrend*, published by Irish Texts Society; also in *Irishe Texte*, ser. ii.; also, *infra*, p. 333, excerpt xv.

[2] *Iliad*, vii. 321.

[3] Cf. Polybius, *supra*, p. 250, excerpt xliv., and *infra*, p. 333, excerpt xv.

[4] Cf. *infra*, p. 345, excerpt xx.

the head, and thence to the nape of the neck, giving themselves the appearance of satyrs and Pans. As a result of this treatment their hair thickens till it resembles exactly the hair of horses. Some shave the beard, while others allow it to grow to a moderate length. The nobles shave the cheeks and allow the moustache to grow till it covers the mouth. Thus it happens that in eating their food clings to the moustache, and in drinking the beverage passes through it as through a filter. During meals they do not sit on benches but squat on the ground on skins of wolves and dogs, and are served by the youngest children of both sexes. At the sides are blazing fires with cauldrons and spits garnished with whole quarters of meat. They honour their heroes by offering them the best pieces of the joint.[1] The poet shows us Ajax honoured in the like manner by his comrades after he had fought and beaten Hector single-handed: 'the King honours Ajax with the whole back of the victim.'[2] They invite strangers also to their banquets. After the feast they enquire what they are and what they need. Frequently during these banquets their words give rise to disputes, and, holding life of small account, they challenge one another to single combat.[3] For among them is current the doctrine of Pythagoras, which teaches that the souls of men are immortal, and, migrating into another body, live on again for a fixed number of years.[4] Hence it is that at the funeral ceremony they throw on the pyre letters

Feasts.

The champion's portion.

Single combat.

Immortality of the soul.

ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πυράν, ὡς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀναγνωσομένων ταύτας.[1] (*idem* v. 28.)

VII. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς μάχαις χρῶνται συνωρίσιν, ἔχοντος τοῦ ἅρματος ἡνίοχον καὶ παραβάτην. Ἀπαντῶντες δὲ τοῖς ἐφιππεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, σαυνιάζουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ καταβάντες εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους συνίστανται μάχην. Ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσιν, ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ περιεζωσμένους καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον.[2] Ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους, ἐκ τῶν πενήτων καταλέγοντες, οἷς ἡνιόχοις καὶ παρασπισταῖς χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς μάχας. Κατὰ δὲ τὰς παρατάξεις εἰώθασι προάγειν τῆς παρατάξεως, καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς μονομαχίαν, προανασείοντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ καταπληττόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους. Ὅταν δέ τις ὑπακούσῃ πρὸς τὴν μάχην, τάς τε τῶν προγόνων ἀνδραγαθίας ἐξυμνοῦσι, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὰς προφέρονται, καὶ τὸν ἀντιταττόμενον ἐξονειδίζουσι καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὸ θάρσος τῆς ψυχῆς τοῖς λόγοις προαφαιροῦνται. Τῶν δὲ πεσόντων πολεμίων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφαιροῦντες, περιάπτουσι τοῖς αὐχέσι τῶν ἵππων· τὰ δὲ σκῦλα τοῖς θεράπουσι παραδόντες ἡμαγμένα λαφυραγωγοῦσι, ἐπιπαιανίζοντες καὶ ᾄδοντες ὕμνον ἐπινίκιον καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα ταῖς οἰκίαις προσηλοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἐν κυνηγίαις τισὶ κεχειρωμένοι θηρία. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιφανεστάτων πολεμίων κεδρώσαντες τὰς κεφαλάς, ἐπιμελῶς τηροῦσιν ἐν λάρνακι, καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύουσι, σεμνυνόμενοι διότι τῆσδε τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν προγόνων τις, ἢ

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 333, excerpts xv., xvi.

[2] For description of Celts in battle, cf. Polybius, *supra*, p. 208, excerpts xxii., xxiii.

addressed to their deceased relatives for the dead to read.[1]

VII. When travelling and in war they use two-horse chariots, which seat a driver and a warrior. When they encounter horsemen in war they hurl the javelin against the foe, and then dismounting engage the enemy with the sword. Some of them so utterly despise death that they expose themselves naked with only a girdle around their bodies.[2] They bring with them freemen retainers picked from the poorer class, and employ them as drivers and body-guards in the fight. Before engaging in battle they have a custom of going before the lines and challenging the bravest of the enemy to single combat, brandishing their arms meanwhile for the purpose of terrifying the enemy. If anyone accept the challenge, they sing the prowess of their ancestors and vaunt their own feats, while on their enemies they pour abuse, and damp their ardour with their vituperation. They cut off the heads of their fallen foes, and attach them to the necks of their steeds. The spoils stained with blood they hand to their retainers to carry, and chant the hymn of victory. They nail these trophies to the doors of their houses, just as other people do with animals captured in the hunt. As regards the heads of the more famous victims, they embalm them with the oil of the cedar tree, and carefully preserve them in a casket. They show them to strangers with pride, vaunting that their ancestors [and themselves ?] had not acquired them

Celts in battle.

Human trophies.

πατήρ, ἢ καὶ αὐτός, πολλὰ χρήματα διδόμενα οὐκ ἔλαβε. Φασὶ δέ τινας αὐτῶν καυχήσασθαι διότι χρυσὸν ἀντίσταθμον τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, βάρβαρόν τινα μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι·[1] οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ σύσσημα τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐγενές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τετελευτηκὸς θηριῶδες.

(*idem* v. 29.)

VIII. Ἐσθῆσι δὲ χρῶνται καταπληκτικαῖς, χιτῶσι μὲν βαπτοῖς, χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς διηνθισμένοις, καὶ ἀναξυρίσιν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν· ἐπιπορποῦνται δὲ σάγους ῥαβδωτούς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς χειμῶσι δασεῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος ψιλούς, πλινθίοις πολυανθέσι καὶ πυκνοῖς διειλημμένους. Ὅπλοις δὲ χρῶνται, θυρεοῖς μὲν ἀνδρομήκεσι πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιοτρόπως· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ζώων χαλκῶν ἐξοχὰς ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον πρὸς κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτῶν εὖ δεδημιουργημένας· κράνη δὲ χαλκᾶ περιτίθενται, μεγάλας ἐξοχὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα, καὶ παμμεγέθη φαντασίαν ἐπιφέροντα τοῖς χρωμένοις· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρόσκειται συμφυῆ κέρατα, τοῖς δὲ ὀρνέων ἢ τετραπόδων ζώων ἐκτετυπωμέναι προτομαί. Σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφυεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικάς· ἐμφυσῶσι γὰρ ταύταις καὶ προβάλλουσιν ἦχον τραχὺν καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκεῖον. Θώρακας δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ μὲν σιδηροῦς ἁλυσιδωτούς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως δεδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται, γυμνοὶ μαχόμενοι. Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ξίφους σπάθας ἔχουσι μακρὰς σιδηραῖς ἢ χαλκαῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἐξηρτημένας,

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 347, excerpt xxi.

by purchase, even for much money. Some are said to show a savage nature and to boast that they would not sell a head even for its weight in gold.[1] But if, on the one hand, it is not chivalrous to place a money value on the trophies of prowess, it is, on the other, savage to engage in deadly combat with one's own countrymen.

Celtic dress.

VIII. They wear a singular dress. Their tunics are dyed in many colours, and have variegated flowers wrought on them. Their leg-wear they call 'breeches.' They fasten with brooches at their shoulders their striped cloaks, which are richly ornamented with diamond-shaped floral patterns, and which are heavy for winter wear and lighter for summer. Their defensive armour consists of a shield the height of a man, which each warrior decorates after his own fashion. As these shields serve not only for purposes of defence but also as ornaments, some have them furnished with brazen figures of animals, very artistically worked. Their brazen head-gear is ornamented with large projections which give the wearer the appearance of huge stature. On some of these helmets horns are fixed, on others are embossed figures of birds and quadrupeds. They possess uncouth trumpets of peculiar formation which emit a hoarse and warlike sound to inspire terror. Some of them wear breast-plates knit of iron links; others, satisfied with their natural advantages, fight naked. Instead of the ordinary sword they carry a two-edged one hung with an iron

Shields.

Helmets.

Trumpets.

Swords.

παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν λαγόνα παρατεταμένας. Τινὲς δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπιχρύσοις ἢ καταργύροις ζωστῆρσι συνέζωνται. Προβάλλονται δὲ λόγχας, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι λαγκίας καλοῦσι, πηχυαίας τῷ μήκει τοῦ σιδήρου, καὶ ἔτι μείζω τὰ ἐπιθήματα ἐχούσας· πλάτει δὲ βραχὺ λειπούσας διπαλαίστων. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξίφη τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις σαυνίων εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐλάττω, τὰ δὲ σαυνία τὰς ἀκμὰς ἔχει τῶν ξιφῶν μείζους. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας κεχάλκευται, τὰ δὲ ἑλικοειδῆ δι' ὅλων ἀνάκλασιν ἔχει, πρὸς τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πληγὴν μὴ μόνον τέμνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θραύειν τὰς σάρκας, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ δόρατος σπαράττειν τὸ τραῦμα.[1]

(*idem* v. 30.)

IX. Αὐτοὶ δέ εἰσι τὴν πρόσοψιν καταπληκτικοί, καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς βαρυηχεῖς καὶ παντελῶς τραχύφωνοι· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγματίαι, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς· πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς, ἐπ' αὐξήσει μὲν ἑαυτῶν, μειώσει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. Ἀπειληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνατατικοὶ καὶ τεταγῳδημένοι ὑπάρχουσι· ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ὀξεῖς, καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν οὐκ ἀφυεῖς.[2] Εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν, οὓς Βάρδους ὀνομάζουσιν. Οὗτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίων ᾄδοντες, οὓς μὲν ὑμνοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ βλασφημοῦσι. Φιλόσοφοί τέ τινές εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, οὓς Δρυΐδας ὀνομάζουσι. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτούς. Οὗτοι δὲ διά τε τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερείων θυσίας τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγουσι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον. Μάλιστα δ', ὅταν περί τινων μεγάλων ἐπισκέπτωνται, παράδοξον καὶ ἄπιστον ἔχουσι νόμιμον. Ἄνθρωπον γὰρ

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 341, excerpt xix. [2] Cf. *infra*, p. 339, excerpt xviii.

or brazen chain from their right thigh. Some set off their tunics with gold or silver bands. They also use pikes which they call 'lances,' which have an iron [top] a cubit long, and adjuncts [wings ?] not much longer, with a breadth of nearly two palms. Their swords are scarcely smaller than the javelins of other people; and their javelins have longer points than their swords. Of these javelins some are straight, while others are twisted spirally their whole length. Thus they not only cut but lacerate the flesh, and on being withdrawn enlarge the wound.[1]

Lances.

Javelins.

IX. Their appearance is awe-inspiring: their voices are deep and very gruff: in conversation they spare their words, expressing themselves in cryptic sentences, and affecting to leave most of their meaning to be inferred. They express themselves hyperbolically when extolling themselves, or deprecating others. Their speech is threatening, strained, and dramatic. They are nevertheless acute-minded, and not unapt in receiving instruction.[2] They have poets whom they call bards, who sing songs of eulogy and of satire, accompanying themselves on instruments very like the lyre. They also have philosophers and theologians whom they hold in extreme honour, and name Druids. They possess prophets too who are much revered. These prophets predict the future from the flight of birds, and from the inspection of the entrails of victims. All the people obey them. They have a strange and incredible custom, particularly when they consult the sacrifices on some important

Character of Celts.

The Bards.

The Druids.

The Prophets.

κατασπείσαντες, τύπτουσι μαχαίρᾳ κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ διάφραγμα τόπον· καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ πληγέντος, ἐκ τῆς πτώσεως καὶ τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ τῶν μελῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως, τὸ μέλλον νοοῦσι, παλαιᾷ τινὶ καὶ πολυχρονίῳ παρατηρήσει περὶ τούτων πεπιστευκότες.[1] Ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μηδένα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἄνευ φιλοσόφου· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐμπείρων τῆς θείας φύσεως, ὡσπερεί τινων ὁμοφώνων, τὰ χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς φασὶ δεῖν προσφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τούτων οἴονται δεῖν τἀγαθὰ αἰτεῖσθαι. Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν ταῖς εἰρηνικαῖς χρείαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τούτοις μάλιστα πείθονται, καὶ τοῖς μελῳδοῦσι ποιηταῖς, οὐ μόνον οἱ φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι· πολλάκις δ' ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι πλησιαζόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνατεταμένοις καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις προβεβλημέναις, εἰς τὸ μέσον οὗτοι προελθόντες, παύουσιν αὐτούς, ὥσπέρ τινα θηρία κατεπᾴσαντες. Οὕτως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις βαρβάροις ὁ θυμὸς εἴκει τῇ σοφίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Ἄρης αἰδεῖται τὰς Μούσας.[2]

(*idem* v. 31.)

X. Χρήσιμον δ' ἔστι διορίσαι τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀγνοούμενον. Τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, Κελτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον νεύοντα μέρη, παρά τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑρκύνιον ὄρος καθιδρυμένους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς Σκυθίας, Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν πάντα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 325, excerpt x.; p. 347, excerpt xxi.
[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 331, excerpt xiv.; p. 345, excerpt xx.

event: they sacrifice a man by striking him with a knife above the diaphragm. They then predict the future from the fall of the victim, from the convulsions of his limbs, and from the flow of his blood; and from long custom, they have faith in these sacrifices.[1] It is an established custom among them that no one shall sacrifice without the presence of a philosopher, for they pretend that sacrifices pleasing to the gods can be offered only through the medium of these men, who understand the supernatural and are in some way in communion with it, and that it is necessary to ask the gods through these men for the favours one desires. These philosophers have a great influence in times of peace, as well as in times of war. Friend and foe submit to the song of the bard. Often when two armies meet, and swords are drawn, and lances set, the bards throw themselves between the contending parties, and pacify them, as one by magic subdues the wild beast. And thus, even among the most savage non-Greeks, frenzy yields to wisdom, and Mars respects the Muses.[2] Human sacrifices.

X. It may be well to make clear now a point ignored by many. The people who dwell above Marseilles in the interior district, those near the Alps, and those on this side of the Pyrenees also are called Celts; while those who dwell beyond the Celtic country to the southern points of this region, those who inhabit towards the (Atlantic) Ocean, and those around the Hercynian Forest, and all those beyond as far as Scythia are called Galatae. The Romans, 'Celt,' 'Galatae,' 'Gaul.'

συλλήβδην μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνουσιν, ὀνομάζοντες Γαλάτας ἅπαντας. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐ μόνον τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ἐνάμιλλοι.[1] Τὰ δὲ παιδία παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ γενετῆς ὑπάρχει πολιὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον· προβαίνοντες δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις, εἰς τὸ τῶν πατέρων χρῶμα ταῖς χρόαις μετασχηματίζονται. Ἀγριωτάτων δὲ ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ πλησιοχώρων, φασί τινας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἶριν. Διαβεβοημένης δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς καὶ ἀγριότητος, φασί τινες ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν καταδραμόντας, ὀνομαζομένους δὲ Κιμμερίους, τούτους εἶναι, βραχὺ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν λέξιν φθείραντος ἐν τῇ τῶν καλουμένων Κίμβρων προσηγορίᾳ. Ζηλοῦσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ λῃστεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἐπερχόμενοι, καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἁπάντων. Οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μὲν Ῥώμην ἑλόντες, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς συλήσαντες, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας φορολογήσαντες, καὶ τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων τὴν χώραν κατοικήσαντες· οἱ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιπλοκὴν Ἑλληνογαλάται κληθέντες· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαίων συντρίψαντες. Ἀκολούθως δὲ τῇ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἀγριότητι, καὶ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκτόπως ἀσεβοῦσι. Τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες, ἀνασκολοπίζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν καθαγίζουσι, πυρὰς παμμεγέθεις κατασκευάζοντες. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερείοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμάς. Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ληφθέντα ζῶα μετὰ τῶν

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 345, excerpt xix.

however, include all these tribes under one name and call them Gauls.

The women of the Galatae are not only equal to the men in point of stature but even rival them in point of bravery.[1] Their children at birth are generally of fair hair, which as they grow up assumes the colour of their fathers'. The tribes dwelling in the north and those neighbouring on Scythia are very savage. It is said that they sometimes eat men, as do also the Britons who inhabit Ireland. These nations, famed for their courage and ferocity, according to some writers ravaged all Asia in days gone by. They were then known under the name of Cimmerians, and afterwards under the corrupted form, Cimbri. From the earliest times they engaged in brigandage and in inroads on the territories of others, holding all other people in contempt. It is they who captured Rome, pillaged the temple at Delphi, rendered a great part of Europe and no small part of Asia tributary to them, and settled down in the lands of the conquered people. They received the name of Gallo-graecians from their intermixing with the Greeks. And finally they overthrew many and powerful Roman armies. In accordance with their wild nature they are strangely sacrilegious in their religious rites. They guard malefactors for a period of five years, and then, to honour the gods, empale them and burn them on enormous shields with several other offerings. They also sacrifice prisoners of war in honour of the gods. With the human victims some of them slaughter,

Women.

Human sacrifices.

ἀνθρώπων ἀποκτείνουσιν, ἢ κατακαίουσιν, ἤ τισιν ἄλλαις τιμωρίαις ἀφανίζουσι.[1] Γυναῖκας δ' ἔχοντες εὐειδεῖς, ἥκιστα ταύταις προσέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων ἐπιπλοκὰς ἐκτόπως λυσσῶσιν. Εἰώθασι δ' ἐπὶ δοραῖς θηρίων χαμαὶ καθεύδοντες, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν παρακοίτοις συγκυλίεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξότατον, τῆς ἰδίας εὐσχημοσύνης ἀφροντιστοῦντες, τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥραν εὐκόπως ἑτέροις προΐενται· καὶ τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν οὐχ ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅταν τις αὐτῶν χαριζομένων μὴ προσδέξηται τὴν διδομένην χάριν, ἄτιμον ἡγοῦνται.

(*idem* v. 32.)

XI. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀρκούντως περὶ τῶν Κελτῶν εἰρηκότες, μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους τούτοις Κελτίβηρας. Οὗτοι γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν περὶ τῆς χώρας ἀλλήλοις διαπολεμήσαντες, οἵ τε Ἴβηρες καὶ οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διαλυθέντες, καὶ τὴν χώραν κοινῇ κατοικήσαντες, ἔτι δ' ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνθέμενοι, διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν λέγονται ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας. Δυοῖν δ' ἐθνῶν ἀλκίμων μιχθέντων, καὶ χώρας ὑποκειμένης ἀγαθῆς, συνέβη τοὺς Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ πολὺ τῇ δόξῃ προελθεῖν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολλοὺς χρόνους ἀντιταξαμένους, μόλις καταπολεμηθῆναι. Δοκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὐ μόνον ἱππεῖς ἀγαθούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζοὺς παρέχεσθαι διαφόρους ταῖς ἀλκαῖς καὶ ταῖς καρτερίαις. Φοροῦσι δ' οὗτοι σάγους μέλανας τραχεῖς, καὶ παραπλήσιον ἔχοντας τὸ ἔριον ταῖς αἰγείαις θριξίν. Ὁπλίζονται δέ τινες τῶν Κελτιβήρων Γαλατικοῖς θυρεοῖς κούφοις· τινὲς δὲ κυρτίαις κυκλοτρέσιν, ἀσπίδων

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 323, excerpt ix.

[2] On the morals of the Celts, cf. Aristotle, *supra*, p. 38, excerpt i. and note.

[3] Cf. Polybius, *supra*, p. 298, excerpt lxxxvii., for the terror inspired by the Celtiberians.

or burn, or get rid of by some other torture, the animals captured in war.[1] Although their women are very beautiful they have very little intercourse with them, but satisfy their inclinations in an unnatural way with males, sleeping on the ground on skins of wild beasts with usually a bedmate wallowing on each side. But strangest of all, regardless of personal decency, they offer their virginity freely to strangers; and, far from holding such intercourse shameful, they regard themselves insulted if the favours they offer are refused.[2]

The Celtiberians.

XI. We have dealt in an adequate manner with the Celts, and shall now go on to the history of the Celtiberians, who are their neighbours. The Iberians and Celts had in bygone times waged a war of long duration for the land; but at length entering into an understanding, they held the country in common, while marriage alliances effected a fusion of the two peoples. It was because of the intermixing that they are said to have received the name of Celtiberians. The fusion of two such warlike peoples, and the fertility of the territory they cultivated, helped greatly to make the Celtiberians famous. They withstood the Romans for a long period, who succeeded in conquering them only after a severe struggle. Not only is it agreed that their cavalry is excellent, but their infantry too distinguished itself by its intrepid bravery.[3]

Their dress and armour.

The Celtiberians wear a black cloak of a hairy texture like a goat's skin. Some carry light Gallic

ἐχούσαις τὰ μεγέθη. Καὶ περὶ τὰς κνήμας τριχίνας εἰλοῦσι κνημῖδας· περὶ δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς κράνη χαλκᾶ περιτίθενται φοινικοῖς ἠσκημένα λόφοις. Ξίφη δὲ ἀμφίστομα καὶ σιδήρῳ διαφόρῳ κεχαλκευμένα φοροῦσιν, ἔχοντες σπιθαμαίας παραξιφίδας, αἷς χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις συμπλοκάς. Ἴδιον δέ τι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν [ὅπλων καὶ] ἀμυντηρίων κατασκευήν. Ἐλάσματα γὰρ σιδήρου κατακρύπτουσιν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐῶσι, μέχρις ἂν ὅτου διὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἰοῦ περιφάγοντος τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ σιδήρου, καταλειφθῇ τὸ στερεώτατον· ἐξ οὗ κατασκευάζουσι διάφορα ξίφη, καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀνήκοντα. Τὸ δ' οὕτω κατασκευασθὲν ὅπλον, πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν διαιρεῖ· ἀφ' οὗπερ οὔτε θυρεός, οὔτε κράνος, οὔτε ὀστοῦν ὑπομένει τὴν πληγήν, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ σιδήρου.[1] Διμάχαι δ' ὄντες, ἐπειδὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀγωνισάμενοι νικήσωσι, καταπηδῶντες, καὶ τὴν τῶν πεζῶν τάξιν μεταλαμβάνοντες, θαυμαστὰς ποιοῦνται μάχας. Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον νόμιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστί. Ἐπιμελεῖς γὰρ ὄντες καὶ καθάριοι ταῖς διαίταις, ἓν ἔργον ἐπιτηδεύουσι βάναυσον καὶ πολλῆς ἀκαθαρσίας κεκοινωνηκός· παρ' ἕκαστα γὰρ τὸ σῶμα λούουσιν οὔρῳ, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας παρατρίβοντες, ταύτην ἡγοῦνται θεραπείαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος.

(*idem* v. 33.)

XII. Τοῖς δ' ἤθεσι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς κακούργους καὶ πολεμίους ὑπάρχουσι ὠμοί, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ξένους ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιδημήσαντας ξένους ἅπαντας ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταλύσεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλῶνται περὶ ξενίας· οἷς δ' ἂν οἱ ξένοι συνακολουθήσωσι,

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 319, excerpt viii. For excellency of iron, cf. Polybius, *supra*, p. 220, excerpt xxvii., and note; also p. 301, excerpt lxxxix.
[2] Cf. Catullus, vol. ii.

shields, some a round shield of the ordinary size. They enclose their thighs in hairy greaves, and cover their heads with helmets of bronze, decorated with purple crests. Their swords are two-edged and forged of excellent iron. In close fight they use daggers a span in length. Their method of manufacturing their offensive and defensive weapons is peculiar. They bury the iron blades in the soil, and leave them there until the rust has eaten away the weaker parts of the iron and only the strongest remains. It is from this iron that they manufacture their excellent swords and other weapons of war. So well made are these weapons that they cleave everything they strike: no shield, or helmet, or bone can resist their stroke, so excellent is the iron in them.[1] They can fight on foot or on horse. When the cavalry has broken the enemy's ranks they dismount, and, forming as infantry, perform prodigies of valour. They have one very strange custom: although careful of their person, and clean in their daily habits, they have one revoltingly filthy practice: they all bathe themselves in urine, and even brush their teeth in it, believing this a good means of preserving the health of their bodies.[2]

Manners of Celtiberians.

XII. As to their manners, the Celtiberians are very cruel to malefactors and towards their enemies, but generous and kindly towards their guests. They gladly give shelter to travellers in their country, and vie with one another as to who shall give them hospitality. They praise those who accompany strangers,

τούτους ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἡγοῦνται. Τροφαῖς δὲ χρῶνται κρέασι παντοδαποῖς καὶ δαψιλέσι, καὶ οἰνομέλιτος πόματι, χορηγούσης τῆς χώρας τὸ μέλι παμπληθές· τὸν δ' οἶνον παρὰ τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων ἐμπόρων ὠνούμενοι. Χαριέστατον δὲ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐθνῶν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν Οὐακκαίων ὀνομαζομένων σύστημα. Οὗτοι γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος διαιρούμενοι τὴν χώραν, γεωργοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς κοινοποιούμενοι, μεταδιδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τὸ μέρος· καὶ τοῖς νοσφισαμένοις τι γεωργοῖς θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον τεθείκασι.

(*idem* v. 34.)

XIII. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κασσίτερος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς Ἰβηρίας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εὑρισκόμενος, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τινὲς τεθρυλλήκασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος [καὶ χωνευόμενος] ὁμοίως ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ. Ὑπεράνω γὰρ τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας ἐστὶ μέταλλα πολλὰ τοῦ κασσιτέρου, κατὰ τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ νησίδας, τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Κασσιτερίδας ὠνομασμένας. Πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βρεταννικῆς νήσου διακομίζεται πρὸς τὴν καταντικρὺ κειμένην Γαλατίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς ἐφ' ἵππων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἄγεται παρά τε τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν Ναρβῶνα. Αὕτη δ' ἔστιν ἄποικος μὲν Ῥωμαίων, διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν μέγιστον ἐμπόριον ἔχουσα τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις.

(*idem* v. 38.)

XIV. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν "Κελτοὶ, φησι, περιάγονται μεθ' αὑτῶν καὶ πολεμοῦντες συμβιωτὰς, οὓς καλοῦσι παρασίτους. Οὗτοι δὲ ἐγκώμια αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀθρόους λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπους συνεστῶτας, καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκείνων

and regard them as sacred to the gods. They feed on all kinds of meats in abundance; wine sweetened with honey is their drink. Their country supplies the honey generously, while the wine is purchased from merchants who import it oversea. Of the neighbouring people the Vaccaei are the most enlightened. These divide their lands every year, and, making the harvest collectively, distribute his share to each individual. A husbandman appropriating anything is punished with death.

Land customs.

XIII. Tin is found in several parts of Iberia, not only on the surface, as some repeatedly assert in their accounts, but also in mines, whence it is worked to be refined like as is done with gold and silver. There are many tin mines above the country of the Lusitani and opposite the islets situated off Iberia in the Ocean, and from this circumstance named the Cassiterides. A large quantity of tin is imported into Gaul from the isle of Britain, which faces Gaul; the merchants loading it on horses, and transporting it across the interior of the Celtic country to the Marseillians and to the city called Narbon. This last city is a Roman colony, and on account of its position and opulence is the largest market in this country.

Tin in Iberia and in Britain.

XIV. In the twenty-third book of his Histories Poseidonius of Apamea writes that: 'The Celts, even when making war, are accompanied by a class known as parasites, who dine with them. These men sing their praises before large assemblies, and also to any

The Bards.

ἀκροωμένων. Τὰ δὲ ἀκούσματα αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι Βάρδοι· ποιηταὶ δὲ οὗτοι τυγχάνουσι μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐπαίνους λέγοντες." [1]

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 259, Frag. 23.

XV. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἐν τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν "Κελτοί, φησὶν, ἐνίοτε παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μονομαχοῦσιν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγερθέντες σκιαμαχοῦσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκροχειρίζονται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τραύματος προΐασι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐρεθισθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπισχῶσιν οἱ παρόντες, καὶ ἕως ἀναιρέσεως ἔρχονται. Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν φησιν ὅτι παρατεθέντων κωλήνων τὸ μηρίον ὁ κράτιστος ἐλάμβανεν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἀντιποιήσαιτο, συνίσταντο μονομαχήσοντες μέχρι θανάτου.[2] Ἄλλοι δ' ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ οἴνου κεραμίων ἀριθμόν τινα, καὶ πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἢ φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι, ὕπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται, καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει.

(ex Athenaeo hausit Eustath. p. 1606, 14)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 259, Frag. 24.

XVI. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως ἧς προῄρητο φιλοσοφίας, πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμιμα ἀναγράφων, "Κελτοί, φησι, τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται, χόρτον ὑποβάλλοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ξυλίνων, μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπηρμένων. Ἡ τροφὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἄρτοι μὲν ὀλίγοι, κρέα δὲ πολλὰ ἐν ὕδατι, καὶ ὀπτὰ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων ἢ ὀβελίσκων. Προσφέρονται δὲ ταῦτα

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 321, excerpt ix.
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 315, excerpt vi. and notes.

individual who cares to listen to them. They have also a class known as Bards, who play the music. These, too, are poets and set out their virtues in odes.[1]

XV. Poseidonius states in the twenty-third book of his Histories: 'The Celts during their banquets sometimes engage in single combat. Pressing together, they attack one another in mimic warfare, and at times go so far as to inflict wounds; and then, inflamed with passion, they would even, if not separated by the spectators, continue the fight to a fatal termination.' He adds that in earlier times, when leg-joints were set before the guests, the bravest took the thigh-bone; and, if any of the others challenged his claim, the disputants would arise and settle the matter by single combat to the death.[2]

Duels.

Champion's portion.

Another custom was for certain of them to produce before the assembly silver or gold, or it might be a number of wine-jars; and, after pledging each other and distributing the gifts among relations and friends, they would lay themselves on their backs on planks, and a man would come forward and cut their throats.

Suicide.

XVI. Poseidonius, the Stoic, in histories he wrote in a spirit so truly consistent with the philosophy he professed, writing of the laws and customs that prevailed among various nations, says: 'The Celts serve their guests, who recline on seats of grass, with food which they place on wooden tables slightly raised from the ground. The fare consists of a small portion of bread and of much meat brought up floating in water, and roasted on coals or on spits. They eat

Feasting customs.

καθαρείως μὲν, λεοντωδῶς δὲ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις αἴροντες ὅλα μέλη, καὶ ἀποδάκνοντες· ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ τι δυσαπόσπαστον, μακαιρίῳ μικρῷ παρατέμνοντες, ὃ τοῖς κολεοῖς ἐν ἰδίᾳ θήκῃ παράκειται. Προσφέρονται δὲ καὶ ἰχθῦς οἵ τε παρὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οἰκοῦντες καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐντὸς καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, καὶ τούτους δὲ ὀπτοὺς μετὰ ἁλῶν καὶ ὄξους καὶ κυμίνου. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. Ἐλαίῳ δ' οὐ χρῶνται διὰ σπάνιν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσύνηθες ἀηδὲς αὐτοῖς φαίνεται. Ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συνδειπνῶσι, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ, μέσος δ' ὁ κράτιστος, ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχέρειαν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ γένος, ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτον· ὁ δ' ὑποδεχόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἑκατέρωθε κατ' ἀξίαν ἧς ἔχουσιν ὑπεροχῆς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁπλοφοροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω παρεστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι κύκλῳ, καθάπερ οἱ δεσπόται, συνευωχοῦνται. Τὸ δὲ ποτὸν οἱ διακονοῦντες ἐν ἀγγείοις περιφέρουσιν ἐοικόσι μὲν ἀμβίκοις ἢ κεραμέοις ἢ ἀργυροῖς· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πίνακας, ἐφ' ὧν τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται, τοιούτους ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ χαλκοῦς, οἱ δὲ κάνεα ξύλινα καὶ πλεκτά. Τὸ δὲ πινόμενόν ἐστι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν οἶνος, ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Μασσαλιητῶν χώρας παρακομιζό-

their meat in a decent enough fashion, although they take the whole joint in both their hands, and bite off their mouthfuls like the lions do. Should there be any piece which they cannot detach, they cut it off with a small sword which they keep concealed on their person in a sheath. Those living near rivers, or on the Mediterranean, or on the Atlantic, eat fish also, which they roast and flavour with salt and vinegar and cummin seed. This cummin seed they also put into their wine. Oil is too scarce with them to use, and, being unaccustomed to it, they find it disagreeable. When a number of them dine together, like the *coryphaeus* of the chorus, the most distinguished of them sits in the centre. His superiority may be due either to his soldier prowess, to his lineage, or to his wealth. Next to him sits the host; while the other guests are arranged on each side in regular order of precedence, according to each one's particular standing. Behind them stand their armour-bearers holding their large oblong shields, which are called *θυρεοὶ*. Their spear-men sit down opposite in a circle, and feast in the same manner as their masters. Their cup-bearers carry round the wine in jars like ordinary casks in shape, and made of either earthenware or silver, and which they call *ἄμβικος*. The platters on which the meat is served are made of the same material, but some use ones of brass, others ones of wood, and others ones plaited like baskets. The liquor they drink is the rich wine brought from Italy, and from the district round Marseilles. This

Drink.

μενος, ἄκρατος δ' οὗτος· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὀλίγον ὕδωρ παραμίγνυται· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις ζύθος πύρινον μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασμένον παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καθ' αὑτό· καλεῖται δὲ κόρμα. Ἀπορροφοῦσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου κατὰ μικρὸν, οὐ πλεῖον κυάθου· πυκνότερον δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι. Περιφέρει δὲ ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ λαιά. Οὕτως διακονοῦνται· καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι."[1]

XVII. Ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγούμενος καὶ τὸν Λουερνίου, τοῦ Βιτυΐτος πατρὸς, πλοῦτον, τοῦ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθαιρεθέντος, φησι "δημαγωγοῦντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐν ἅρματι φέρεσθαι διὰ τῶν πεδίων, καὶ σπείρειν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ταῖς ἀκολουθούσαις τῶν Κελτῶν μυριάσι, φράγμα τε ποιεῖν δωδεκαστάδιον, τετράγωνον, ἐν ᾧ πληρουμένους ληνοὺς πολυτελοῦς πόματος, παρασκευάζειν τε τοσοῦτο βρωμάτων πλῆθος, ὥστε ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰσερχομένοις τῶν παρασκευασθέντων ἀπολαύειν, ἀδιαλείπτως διακονουμένους. Ἀφορίσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ προθεσμίαν ποτὲ τῆς θοίνης, ἀφυστερήσαντά τινα τῶν βαρβάρων ποιητὴν ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ συναντήσαντα μετὰ ᾠδῆς ὑμνεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἀποθρηνεῖν ὅτι ὑστέρηκε, τὸν δὲ τερφ-

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 315, excerpt vi.

is generally taken neat, but sometimes a little water is added. The poorer classes drink a beer brewed from wheat, and softened with honey, and more often still without any honey: they call it *korma*. They all drink from the same cup, taking only short draughts at a time of not more than a cyathus (about $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pint), but the draughts are frequent. A boy carries the liquor round, beginning at the right side and working round to the left. This is the customary way of serving them, and in worshipping the gods they invariably turn towards the right hand.[1] Turning Deisiol.

XVII. Continuing, Poseidonius relates the wealth of Lyernius, the father of Bityis, whom the Romans subdued. 'He aimed,' he says, 'at becoming the leader of the populace: he made it a practice to drive over the plains in a chariot, scattering gold and silver among the crowds of Celts who followed after him. He enclosed a space twelve furlongs square, in which he erected wine-presses. These he filled with expensive wines, and with a stock of provisions, of such bounteous quantity, that for very many days anyone who chose was free to enter and enjoy whatever was prepared there, being waited on the while with the utmost attention. On a certain occasion, when he had issued invitations to a banquet, a poet from some barbarian tribe, who had arrived too late for the feast, met him on the way and greeted him with an ode extolling his munificence, and lamenting his own bad luck in coming too late. Lyernius was delighted with the

θέντα θυλάκιον αἰτῆσαι χρυσίου, καὶ ῥίψαι αὐτῷ παρατρέχοντι, ἀνελόμενον δ' ἐκεῖνον παλὶν ὑμνεῖν, λέγοντα, διότι τὰ ἴχνη τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ἁρματηλατεῖ, χρυσὸν καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἀνθρώποις φέρει." *Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ἱστόρησεν.*

(Athenaeus, iv. 151.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 260, Frag. 25.

XVIII. *Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν φῦλον, ὃ νῦν Γαλλικόν τε καὶ Γαλατικὸν καλοῦσιν, ἀρειμάνιόν ἐστι καὶ θυμικόν τε καὶ ταχὺ πρὸς μάχην, ἄλλως δὲ ἁπλοῦν καὶ οὐ κακόηθες.*[1] *διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐρεθισθέντες μὲν ἀθρόοι συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ φανερῶς καὶ οὐ μετὰ περισκέψεως, ὥστε καὶ εὐμεταχείριστοι γίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖν ἐθέλουσι· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται καὶ ὅπου καὶ ἀφ' ἧς ἔτυχε προφάσεως παροξύνας τις αὐτοὺς ἑτοίμους ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, πλὴν βίας καὶ τόλμης οὐδὲν ἔχοντας τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον. παραπεισθέντες δὲ εὐμαρῶς ἐνδιδόασι πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, ὥστε καὶ παιδείας ἅπτεσθαι καὶ λόγων. τῆς δὲ βίας τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐστὶ μεγάλων ὄντων, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους· συνίασι δὲ κατὰ πλῆθος ῥᾳδίως διὰ τὸ ἁπλοῦν καὶ αὐθέκαστον, συναγανακτούντων τοῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀεὶ τῶν πλησίον. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντες εἰσὶ δεδουλωμένοι καὶ ζῶντες κατὰ τὰ προστάγματα τῶν ἑλόντων αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων τοῦτο λαμβάνομεν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν μέχρι νῦν συμμενόντων παρὰ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς νομίμων. Καὶ γὰρ τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐμφερεῖς εἰσι καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλοις οὗτοι, ὅμορόν τε οἰκοῦσι χώραν διοριζο-*

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 321, excerpt ix.

ode, and calling for a purse of gold threw it to the poet, who was running beside his chariot. The poet picked it up, and continuing his song, proclaimed that the very prints of his foot upon the earth brought benefits to mankind.' Such are the accounts of the Celts given by Poseidonius in the three and twentieth book of his Histories.

Character of the Celts.

XVIII. The entire race now known as the Gallic, or Galatic, is warlike, passionate, and ever ready for fighting, but otherwise simple and devoid of malice.[1] If aroused they make a blind onrush in a body, and thus are easily defeated by those who resort to stratagem. They may be aroused at any time, in any place, and over any trifle, and will always be found ready for danger, with nothing to support them beyond their violence and rashness. Yet they are easily induced to devote themselves to useful pursuits, and many accordingly are engaged in science and letters. They are powerful both on account of their fine physique and on account of their great numbers. Their frankness and simplicity induces them to assemble in masses when they are stirred with indignation at anything that seems injustice to a neighbour. At the present time they are at peace under the rule of the Romans who have conquered them, but we (i.e. Strabo) have described their customs as we understand they existed in former times, and as they still exist among the Germans. These two nations, both by nature and in their form of government, are similar and related to one another. Their countries are coterminous, being divided by

μένην τῷ Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ καὶ παραπλήσια ἔχουσαν τὰ πλεῖστα. ἀρκτικωτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Γερμανία, κρινομένων τῶν τε νοτίων μερῶν πρὸς τὰ νότια καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν πρὸς τὰ ἀρκτικά. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις αὐτῶν ῥᾳδίως ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων ἀγεληδὸν καὶ πανστρατιᾷ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πανοικίων ἐξαιρόντων, ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐκβάλλωνται κρειττόνων. οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πολὺ ῥᾷον τούτους ἐχειρώσαντο ἢ τοὺς Ἴβηρας· καὶ γὰρ ἤρξαντο πρότερον καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ὕστερον ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦντες, τούτους δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πάντας κατέλυσαν, τοὺς ἀνὰ μέσον Ῥήνου καὶ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν σύμπαντας. ἀθρόοι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐμπίπτοντες ἀθρόοι κατελύοντο, οἱ δ' ἐταμίευον καὶ κατεκερμάτιζον τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι καὶ κατ' ἄλλα μέρη λῃστρικῶς πολεμοῦντες. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν μαχηταὶ πάντες τῇ φύσει, κρείττους δ' ἱππόται ἢ πεζοί, καὶ ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἱππείας ἀρίστη παρὰ τούτων, ἀεὶ δὲ οἱ προσβορρότεροι καὶ παρωκεανῖται μαχιμώτεροι.

(Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 2.)

XIX. Τούτων δὲ τοὺς Βέλγας ἀρίστους φασίν, εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔθνη διῃρημένους, τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Λίγηρος παροικοῦντα τὸν ὠκεανόν, ὥστε μόνους ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Γερμανῶν ἔφοδον, Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Βελγῶν Βελλοάκους ἀρίστους φασί, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σουεσσίωνας. τῆς δὲ πολυανθρωπίας σημεῖον· εἰς γὰρ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἐξετάζεσθαί φασι τῶν Βελγῶν πρότερον τῶν δυναμένων φέρειν ὅπλα. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὸ

the Rhine, and are, in general, similar to one another. Germany, however, is more to the north, if we compare the southern and northern parts of the two countries. This is the reason they can so easily change their abode. They march in large numbers in one concentrated force, or rather remove with all their families, whenever they are evicted by some superior people. They were subdued by the Romans more easily than were the Iberians; for the war against the Iberians began first, and ceased last, while in the meantime all the peoples between the Rhine and the Pyrenees were subdued. The latter fought in vast arrays, and were overthrown in great numbers, whereas the Iberians kept themselves in reserve, and turned the war into a series of petty engagements, showing themselves in various parties, now here, now there, like banditti. They are all by nature warriors, but they fight better on horseback than on foot. From them the flower of the Roman cavalry is drawn. The most valiant of them dwell towards the north and next the ocean.

The Belgae.

XIX. Of these they say the Belgae are the bravest. They are divided into fifteen nations, and dwell near the ocean between the Rhine and the Loire, and have therefore singlehanded withstood the raids of the Germans, Cimbri, and Teutons. The bravest of the Belgae are the Bellovaci, and after them the Suessiones. The fact that formerly there were said to be three hundred thousand Belgae capable of bearing arms affords a clue to their

τῶν Ἑλουητττίων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρουέρνων καὶ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται καὶ ὅπερ εἶπον ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας. σαγηφοροῦσι δὲ καὶ κομοτροφοῦσι καὶ ἀναξυρίσι χρῶνται περιτεταμέναις, ἀντὶ δὲ χιτώνων σχιστοὺς χειριδωτοὺς φέρουσι μέχρι αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν. ἡ δ' ἐρέα τραχεῖα μὲν ἀκρόμαλλος δέ, ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς δασεῖς σάγους ἐξυφαίνουσιν οὓς λαίνας καλοῦσιν· οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσβορροτάτοις ὑποδιφθέρους τρέφουσι ποίμνας ἱκανῶς ἀστείας ἐρέας. ὁπλισμὸς δὲ σύμμετρος τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων μεγέθεσι, μάχαιρα μακρὰ παρηρτημένη παρὰ τὸ δεξιὸν πλευρόν, καὶ θυρεὸς μακρὸς καὶ λόγχαι κατὰ λόγον καὶ μάδαρις, πάλτου τι εἶδος. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τόξοις ἔνιοι καὶ σφενδόναις· ἔστι δέ τι καὶ γρόσφῳ ἐοικὸς ξύλον, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἀφιέμενον, τηλεβολώτερον καὶ βέλους, ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὀρνέων χρῶνται θήρας.[1] χαμευνοῦσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ καθεζόμενοι δειπνοῦσιν ἐν στιβάσι. τροφὴ δὲ πλείστη μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ κρεῶν παντοίων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὑείων καὶ νέων καὶ ἁλιστῶν. αἱ δ' ὗες καὶ ἀγραυλοῦσιν ὕψει τε καὶ ἀλκῇ καὶ τάχει διαφέρουσαι· κίνδυνος γοῦν ἐστι τῷ ἀήθει προσιόντι, ὡσαύτως καὶ λύκῳ.[2] τοὺς δ' οἴκους ἐκ

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 321, excerpt viii.
[2] Cf. Polybius, *supra*, p. 172, excerpt ix.

population. The numbers of the Helvetii, the Arverni and their allies have been mentioned already. All this proves the vast population [of Gaul] and, as remarked before, the fecundity of the women, and the ease with which they rear their children. They wear the sagum, let their hair grow, and have short breeches. Instead of tunics they wear a slashed garment with sleeves coming to a little below the hips. The wool they have is coarse, but long; and from it they weave thick sagas called *laines*. However, in the northern parts the Romans rear flocks of sheep, which they cover with skins, and which produce very fine wool.

The Celtic dress.

Their arms are in keeping with their fine physique: they wear a long sword hanging from the right side, a long shield and equally large lances, and a *madaris* which somewhat resembles a javelin. Some of them also use bows and slings. They have also a wooden weapon resembling a *pilum* which they throw, not from a thong but from the hand, and which carries farther than an arrow, and which is used principally for shooting birds.[1] To the present day most of them lie on the ground, and take their meals seated on straw. They live chiefly on milk and all kinds of flesh, that of the swine, which they eat both fresh and salted, being the most common. Their swine are kept in the fields, and are of remarkable height, strength and swiftness; but to persons unaccustomed to approach them, they are almost as dangerous as wolves.[2] The people dwell in large,

Weapons.

Their swine.

σανίδων καὶ γέρρων ἔχουσι μεγάλους θολοειδεῖς, ὄροφον πολὺν ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὕτως δ' ἐστὶ δαψιλῆ καὶ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ ὑοφόρβια ὥστε τῶν σάγων καὶ τῆς ταριχείας ἀφθονίαν μὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ χορηγεῖσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἀριστοκρατικαὶ δ' ἦσαν αἱ πλείους τῶν πολιτειῶν· ἕνα δ' ἡγεμόνα ᾑροῦντο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ παλαιόν, ὡς δ' αὕτως εἰς πόλεμον εἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπεδείκνυτο στρατηγός· νυνὶ δὲ προσέχουσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων προστάγμασι τὸ πλέον. ἴδιον δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις συμβαῖνον· ἐὰν γάρ τις θορυβῇ τὸν λέγοντα καὶ ὑποκρούσῃ, προσιὼν ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἐσπασμένος τὸ ξίφος κελεύει σιγᾶν μετ' ἀπειλῆς, μὴ παυομένου δέ, καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ποιεῖ τὸ αὐτό, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀφαιρεῖ τοῦ σάγου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἄχρηστον ποιῆσαι τὸ λοιπόν. τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ διηλλάχθαι τὰ ἔργα ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν, κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστί.[1]

(ex Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 3.)

XX. Παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φῦλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως, ἐστί, βάρδοι τε καὶ οὐάτεις καὶ δρυΐδαι· βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ ποιηταί, οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιλόγοι, δρυΐδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι· δικαιότατοι δὲ νομίζονται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύονται τάς τε ἰδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινάς, ὥστε καὶ πολέμους διῃτῶν πρότερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μέλλοντας ἔπαυον, τὰς

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 325, excerpt x.

arched houses, constructed of timber and wicker, and covered with a heavy thatched roof. They have so many sheep and swine that they supply *saga* and salted pork in plenty, not only to Rome but to most parts of Italy. Their governments are mostly aristocracies. In former times they chose a chieftain every year, and a military leader was in like manner elected by the masses, but now (i.e. in Strabo's time) they are for the most part subject to Rome. They have a peculiar custom in their assemblies: if anyone becomes disorderly or interrupts the person speaking, an attendant advances with sword drawn, and commands him in a threatening manner to be silent: if he persists, the same thing is done for a second and for a third time, and if he continues obdurate the attendant cuts off a piece of his tunic of such size as to render the remainder useless. The labours of the sexes are among them, as they are indeed among very many other barbarians, the reverse of what they are with us.[1]

Houses.

Polity.

Women.

XX. Among [the Gauls] there are generally three classes to whom special honour is paid, viz. the Bards, the Uatis and the Druids. The Bards composed and sung odes; the Uatis attended to the sacrifices and studied nature; while the Druids studied nature and moral philosophy. So confident are the people in the justice of the Druids that they refer all private and public disputes to them; and these men on many occasions have made peace between armies actually drawn up for battle. All murder

Bards, Uatis, Druids.

Administration of justice.

δὲ φονικὰς δίκας μάλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο δικάζειν . . . ὅταν τε φορὰ τούτων ᾖ, φορὰν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.[1]

(ex Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 4.)

XXI. Τῷ δ' ἁπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν πρόσεστι καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον· χρυσοφοροῦσί τε γάρ, περὶ μὲν τοῖς τραχήλοις στρεπτὰ ἔχοντες περὶ δὲ τοῖς βραχίοσι καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ψέλια, καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας βαπτὰς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσοπάστους οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι.[2] ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δὲ κουφότητος ἀφόρητοι μὲν νικῶντες, ἐκπλαγεῖς δ' ἡττηθέντες ὁρῶνται. πρόσεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προσβόρροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν τοῖς προπυλαίοις. φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταύτην τὴν θέαν πολλαχοῦ, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀηθίζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πράως διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἰσοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίουν.[3] [καὶ τούτων δ' ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίων τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις.][4] ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 315, excerpt vi.; p. 321, excerpt ix.; Caesar, *de bell. Gall.*, vi. 13.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 313, excerpt v.

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 317, excerpt vii.

[4] Words in brackets are by Strabo.

cases in particular are referred to them. When there are a large number of these cases they imagine that the harvest will be plentiful. Both these and the others (i.e. the Bards and Uatis) assert that the soul is immortal, and that the world is indestructible, although sometimes great changes are brought about by fire and water.[1] Doctrines of Druids, &c.

XXI. To their simplicity and vehemence they add much folly, arrogance, and love of ornament. Around their necks they wear gold collars, on their arms and wrists they have bracelets, and those of good position among them clothe themselves in dyed garments, worked with gold.[2] Their fickle, impressionable nature makes them intolerable in victory and faint-hearted in defeat. Besides their arrogance they have a brutal and senseless custom—common among many northern nations—of hanging the heads of their enemies from the neck of their horses when returning from battle, and of nailing them as an exhibition before their doors when they arrive home. Poseidonius says that he witnessed this in many different places, and was shocked at first, but in time its frequency made him familiar with it. The heads of illustrious men are embalmed with cedar [oil], and exhibited to strangers; but they would not sell them for their weight in gold.[3] [The Romans however put a stop to these customs, as well as to their manner of offering sacrifices and practising divination, which were quite contrary to our established ritual.[4] They would strike the Their character. Human trophies. Human sacrifices.

νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ δρυϊδῶν. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς[1] καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὡλοκαύτουν.[2]

(ex Strabo, iv. c. 4, § 5.)

XXII. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὑρεθέντα ἐν τῇ Τολώσσῃ χρήματα μυρίων που καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γενέσθαι φησί, τὰ μὲν ἐν σηκοῖς ἀποκείμενα τὰ δ' ἐν λίμναις ἱεραῖς,[1] οὐδεμίαν κατασκευὴν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἀργὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἄργυρον· . . . ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος οὖσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις πολλαχοῦ ἔσχε θησαυρούς· μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς αἱ λίμναι τὴν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖχον, εἰς ἃς καθίεσαν ἀργύρου ἢ καὶ χρυσοῦ βάρη. οἱ γοῦν Ῥωμαῖοι κρατήσαντες τῶν τόπων ἀπέδοντο τὰς λίμνας δημοσίᾳ καὶ τῶν ὠνησαμένων πολλοὶ μύλους εὗρον σφυρηλάτους ἀργυροῦς. ἐν δὲ τῇ Τολώσσῃ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἦν ἅγιον,[1] τιμώμενον σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπλεόνασε διὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν ἀνατιθέντων καὶ μηδενὸς προσάπτεσθαι θαρροῦντος.

(ex Strabo, iv. c. 1, § 13.)

XXIII. Καὶ τούτων οὖν ἐμφανίζει παραπλησίαν τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν, σκολιὰς τεμνόντων καὶ βαθείας τὰς σύριγγας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπαντῶντας ποταμοὺς πολλάκις τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀναντλούντων κοχλίαις. τὸν δόλον [τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν?] οὐ ταὐτὸν εἶναι τούτους τε καὶ τοῖς

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 313, excerpt v.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 323, excerpt ix.

victim in the back with a sword, and divine from his convulsive throes. They never sacrifice without the Druids. They are said to have other manners of sacrificing their human victims; that they pierce some with arrows, crucify others in their temples,[1] and that they prepare a stack of hay and wood which they set on fire after having placed cattle, all kinds of animals, and men in it.[2] Temples.

XXII. He [*Poseidonius*] states that the wealth found at Toulouse was valued at about fifteen thousand talents; that part of it was hidden in the chapels,[1] and part of it in the sacred lakes, and that it was not coined (money) but gold and silver bullion . . . that the country abounded in gold, and that the inhabitants, being superstitious and living cheaply, hid their treasures in many different places, the lakes especially affording hiding-places for their gold and silver bullion. On obtaining possession of the country the Romans put up these sacred lakes to public sale, and many of the purchasers found quantities of solid silver in them. In Toulouse there was a sacred temple,[1] greatly revered by inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and consequently richly endowed by the gifts of numerous donors, which none dared to touch. Toulouse; its wealth; sacred lakes; its temple.

XXIII. He compares with these the activity and industry of the Turdetani, who customarily cut tortuous and deep tunnels, and drain streams which they frequently encounter by means of Egyptian screws. As for the rest, they are quite different Industry of the Turdetani Gold, silver, tin.

Ἀττικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰνίγματι ἐοικέναι τὴν μεταλλείαν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀνέλαβον (φησίν) οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὅσα δὲ εἶχον, ἀπέλαβον· τούτοις δ' ὑπεράγαν λυσιτελεῖν, τοῖς μὲν χαλκουργοῖς τέταρτον μέρος ἐξάγουσι τῆς γῆς τὸν χαλκόν, τῶν δὲ ἀργυρευόντων τισὶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον ἐξαίρουσι. τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς εὑρίσκεσθαί φησιν, ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρύττεσθαι· γεννᾶσθαι δ' ἔν τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς βαρβάροις καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττιτερίσι νήσοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρτάβροις, οἳ τῆς Λυσιτανίας ὕστατοι πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν εἰσίν, ἐξανθεῖν φησιν τὴν γῆν ἀργύρῳ, καττιτέρῳ, χρυσῷ λευκῷ (ἀργυρομιγὴς γάρ ἐστι), τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην φέρειν τοὺς ποταμούς· τὴν δὲ σκαλίσι τὰς γυναῖκας διαμώσας πλύνειν ἐν ἠθητηρίοις πλεκτοῖς εἰς κίστην. οὗτος μὲν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τοιαῦτ' εἴρηκε.[1]

(Strabo, iii. c. 2, § 9.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 272, Frag. 48.

XXIV. Μετὰ ταύτην (τὴν τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλιν) Ἄβδηρα, Φοινίκων κτίσμα καὶ αὐτή. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ δείκνυται Ὀδύσσεια καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιός τε εἴρηκε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός, ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Τουρδητανίᾳ παιδεύσας τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ περιήγησίν τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδεδωκώς.

(Strabo, iii. c. 4, § 3.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 274, Frag. 49.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 307, excerpt ii.

from the Attic miners, whose mining methods, he says, may be very fairly compared to the enigma, 'What I have taken up I have not kept, and what I have got I have thrown away.' On the other hand, the Turdetani make a very good profit, for a fourth part of the ore which they extract from the copper mines is (pure) copper, while from the silver mines one person has taken away as much as a Euboean talent within three days. He says that tin is not found on the surface, as many authors state, but is mined; and that it is found not only among the people dwelling beyond the Lusitani but also in the Cassiterides Islands; and he says further that it is transported from the Britannic Isles to Marseilles. He also records that among the Artabri, who are the furthest off of the Lusitani towards the north and west, the earth is powdered with silver, tin, and pale gold; that is, mixed with silver; that this earth is brought down by the rivers: this the women gather with spades, and wash in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. Such is his account of these metals.[1]

XXIV. After this city (of the Exitani) comes Abdera, also a Phoenician foundation. Above these places in the mountains, the city of Ulyssea (now Lisbon) is shown. This city contains a temple to Minerva, according to the testimony of Poseidonius, Artemidorus, and Asclepiades the Myrlean, a man who taught grammar in Turdetania, and published a description of the natives dwelling there. Lisbon.

XXV. Φησὶ δὲ Ποσειδώνιος Μάρκον Μάρκελλον πράξασθαι φόρον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας τάλαντα ἑξακόσια· ἐξ οὗ τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κελτίβηρες καὶ χρημάτων εὐποροῦντες, καίπερ οἰκοῦντες χώραν παράλυπρον. Πολυβίου δ' εἰπόντος τριακοσίας αὐτῶν καταλῦσαι πόλεις Τιβέριον Γράκχον, κωμῳδῶν φησι τοῦτο τῷ Γράκχῳ χαρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς θριαμβικαῖς πόμπαις.

(Strabo, iii. c. 4, § 13.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 274, Frag. 50.

XXVI. Φασὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Πιτάνῃ τὰς πλίνθους ἐπιπολάζειν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ γῇ τις [τοῦτο] πέπονθε· κουφοτέρα γὰρ ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἐπίσου ὄγκου ὕδατός ἐστιν, ὥστ' ἐποχεῖσθαι. Ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ δέ φησιν ἰδεῖν Ποσειδώνιος ἔκ τινος γῆς ἀργιλώδους, ᾗ τὰ ἀργυρώματα ἐκμάττεται, πλίνθους πηγνυμένας καὶ ἐπιπλεούσας.

(Strabo, xiii. c. 1, § 67.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 274, Frag. 52.

XXVII. Ταῦτά τε δὴ δικαίως ἐπιτιμᾷ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι Ποσειδώνιος, καὶ οὐ κακῶς εἰκάζει, διότι λῃστρικοὶ ὄντες καὶ πλάνητες οἱ Κίμβροι, καὶ μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ποιήσαιντο στρατείαν· ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ ὁ Κιμμέριος κληθείη Βόσπορος, οἷον Κιμβρικὸς, Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κίμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Φησὶ δὲ καὶ Βοίους τὸν Ἑρκύνιον δρυμὸν οἰκεῖν πρότερον· τοὺς δὲ Κίμβρους ὁρμήσαντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀποκρουσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, καὶ τοὺς Σκορδίσκους Γαλάτας καταβῆναι· εἶτ' ἐπὶ Ταυρίστας καὶ Ταυρίσκους, καὶ τούτους Γαλάτας· εἶτ' ἐπὶ Ἑλουηττίους, πολυχρύσους μὲν ἄνδρας,

Celtiberia rich and populous.

XXV. Poseidonius says that Marcus Marcellus exacted a tribute of 600 talents from Celtiberia: this proves the Celtiberians to have been a populous and wealthy people, though inhabiting an unproductive country. Polybius has it that Tiberius Gracchus destroyed 300 Celtiberian cities. Poseidonius laughs at this, and says that to flatter Gracchus, Polybius described as cities towers such as are exhibited in triumphal processions.

XXVI. The bricks made at Pitane are said to float upon the water, as was the case with certain clay in Tyrrhenia, for the clay, being lighter than an equal bulk of water, floats on it. Poseidonius says that he saw in Spain bricks made of an argillaceous earth, with which silver vessels are cleansed, floating upon water.

The Cimbri

XXVII. For such fables Poseidonius justly blames these authors, and aptly conjectures that the Cimbri, who led a nomadic and piratical life, might have made an expedition as far as the districts around the sea of Azof, and that the name of the Cimmerian Bosphorus has been derived from them, or to be more correct the Cimbrian Bosphorus, for the Greeks call the Cimbri Cimmerii. He also says that the Boii formerly inhabited the Hercynian Forest, and that the Cimbri were repulsed by them when they made an incursion into these parts, and driven towards the Danube, and the country occupied by the Scordisci, a Galatic tribe; that thence they were driven to the Tauristae or Taurisci, also a Galatic people; and

εἰρηναίους δέ· ὁρῶντας δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν λῃστηρίων πλοῦτον ὑπερβάλλοντα τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς Ἑλουηττίους ἐπαρθῆναι, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν Τιγυρίνους τε καὶ Τωυγένους, ὥστε καὶ συνεξορμῆσαι.

(Strabo, vii. c. 2, § 2.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 284, Frag. 75.

XXVIII. Ὑπερβορείους μὴ εἶναι τελέως φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος . . . Ποσειδώνιος δ' εἶναί φησι τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους, κατοικεῖν δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις τῆς Ἰταλίας.[1]

(Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 677, cf. Müller, *Dor.* i. p. 277.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 290, Frag. 90.

XXIX. Τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὰ Κελτικά, οἵ τε Βόϊοι καὶ Σκορδίσκοι καὶ Ταυρίσκοι. Τοὺς δὲ Σκορδίσκους ἔνιοι Σκορδίστας καλοῦσι· καὶ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους δὲ Λιγυρίσκους (? Τευρίσκους mgo. cod. A.) καὶ Ταυρίστας φασί.

(Strabo, vii. c. 3, § 2.)

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iii. p. 290, Frag. 91.

then were driven to the Helvetii, who at that time were a rich and peaceful people ; and that perceiving the wealth of these freebooters to surpass their own, the Helvetii, and more especially the Tigureni and Toygeni, associated themselves with their expeditions.

XXVIII. Herodotus denies point blank that there are any Hyperboreans . . . but Poseidonius on the contrary declares that Hyperboreans do exist, and that they dwell in the district round the Italian Alps.[1]

XXIX. And among these (*tribes on the Danube*) are the Celtic tribes of the Boii, Scordisci, and Taurisci. Some indeed call the Scordisci the Scordistae and give the Taurisci the names of Ligurisci and Tauristae. Tribes on Danube.

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 33, excerpt iv.

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